

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

Class

Cobbett, William
"Porcupine's works."

A BONE TO GNAW
FOR THE
DEMOCRATS.

VOL. II.



E302
C7
1801

P R E F A C E.

READER,

IF you have a Shop to mind, or any other business to do, I advise you to go and do it, and let this book alone; for I can assure you, it contains nothing of half so much importance to you, as the sale of a skein of thread or a yard of tape. By such a transaction you might possibly make a net profit of half a farthing, a thing though seemingly of small value, much more worthy your attention than the treasures under the State house at Amsterdam, or all the mines of Peru. Half a farthing might lay the foundation of a brilliant fortune, and sooner than you should be deprived of it by this work, though it may be called my offspring, I would, like the worshippers of Moloch, commit it to the flames with my own hands.

If you are of that sex, vulgarly called the fair, but which ought always to be called the divine, let me beseech you, if you value your charms, to proceed no further. *Politics* is a mixture of anger and deceit, and these are the mortal enemies of beauty. The instant a lady turns politician, farewell the smiles, the dimples, the roses; the graces abandon her, and age sets his seal on her front. We never find *Hebe*, goddess ever fair and ever young, chattering politics at the table of the gods; and though *Venus* once interposed in behalf of
her

her beloved *Paris*, the spear of *Diomedes*, taught her, "to tremble at the name of arms." And have we not a terrible example of recent, very recent date? I mean that of the unfortunate *Mary Wolstoncraft*. It is a well known fact, that, when that political lady began *The Rights of Women*, she had as fine black hair as you would wish to see, and that, before the second sheet of her work went to the press, it was turned as white, and a great deal whiter than her skin. You must needs think, I have the ambition common to every author: that is to say, to be read; but I declare, that sooner than bleach one auburn ringlet, or even a single hair; sooner than rob the world of one heavenly smile, I would with pleasure see my pamphlet torn up to light the pipes of a Democratic club, or burnt, like the *Political Progress*, by the hands of a Scotch hangman, or even loaded with applauses by the *Philadelphia gazette*.

It is a little singular for an author to write a Preface to hinder his work from being read; but this is not my intention; all I wish to do, is, to confine it within its proper sphere. I am aware that my sincerity in this respect may be called in question, and that malice may ascribe to me motives that never entered my thoughts; but of this I am totally regardless; my work answers to its title, and, consequently, nobody but the Democrats can have any thing to do with it. Nor does it court their approbation; I throw it in amongst them, as amongst a kennel of hounds: let them snarl and growl over it, and gnaw it and slaver it: the more they wear out their fangs this way the less dangerous will be their bite hereafter.

Philadelphia, January 8th, 1795.

A BONE TO GNAW.

FOR THE

DEMOCRATS.

THOUGH the good people of America cannot for their lives comprehend the views from which they have been favoured with a publication of *The Political Progress of Britain*,* we may suppose, that the fondness of the author led him to see the possibility of its being read, and, as it is in the nature of reading to give rise to observations, he will not be surprised, that some of those, arising from the reading of his patriotic labours, have, by a very ordinary process, found their way into print. It is thus that books, more grateful than the

* *The Political Progress of Britain*, was first published in Scotland, in 1793, without the author's name. It was said to be written by the late Lord Gardenstone, and was certainly handed to the press by James Thompson Callender, a clerk of his Lordship's. Callender being in danger of a trip to Botany Bay on account of his seditious work, secreted himself, for some time, in Scotland, and afterwards fled to America, where he re-published the *Political Progress of Britain*, in the month of November, 1794. Callender has constantly denied, that Lord Gardenstone had any other hand in the work than merely correcting some passages, and pointing out some alterations necessary to be made in others; and, indeed, from what Callender has written since his arrival in America, where he could not possibly be assisted by his old patron, it appears very likely, that his statement respecting the Scotch Pamphlet was correct.

children of men, never fail to yield assistance to those that have given them birth. Whenever neglect lays its icy hand on an unfortunate production, another flies to its aid ; and, though it cannot cancel the irrevocable doom ; it saves it, for a moment at least, from the jaws of the unclean monster that is gaping day and night to receive it. Such being, at least in part, the charitable views of this pamphlet, it will undoubtedly meet with a hearty welcome from all the friends of *The Political Progress*, and particularly from its Author.

Let me then ask ; what could induce him to come a' the wa' from Edinburgh to Philadelphia to make an attack upon poor old England ? And, if this be satisfactorily accounted for, upon principles of domestic philosophy, which teaches us, that froth and scum stopped in at one place will burst out at another, still I must be permitted to ask ; what could induce him to imagine, that the citizens of the United States were in any manner, whatever, interested in the affair ? What are his adventures in Scotland, and his " narrow escape," to us, who live on this side the Atlantic ? What do we care whether his associates, *Ridgway* and *Symons*, are still in Newgate, or whether they have been translated to Surgeon's Hall ? Is it any thing to us whether he prefers Charley to George, or George to Charley, any more than whether he used to eat his burgoo with his fingers or with a horn spoon ? What are his debts and his misery to us ? Just as if we cared whether his posteriors were covered with a pair of breeches or kelt, or whether he was literally *sans culotte* ? In Great Britain, indeed, his barking might answer some purpose ; there he was near the object of his fury ; but here he is like a cur howling at the Moon.

Indeed, he himself seems to have been fully sensible of the ridiculousness of the situation in which
this

this publication would place him, and therefore he has had the precaution to surround himself with company, to keep him in countenance. He says, *Mr. Jefferson*, late American Secretary of State, spoke of his work, on different occasions, in respectful terms ; and that he declared, "it contained the most astonishing concentration of abuses, that he had ever heard of." He tells us besides, that "*other gentlemen* have delivered their opinions to the same effect ; and that their *encouragement* was one principal cause of the appearance of this American edition."

And did he, in good earnest, imagine that mixing with such company would render his person sacred and invulnerable ? He should have recollected, that though one *scabby* sheep infects a whole flock, he does not thereby work his own cure.

As to *Mr. Jefferson*, I must suppose him entirely out of the Question ; for no body that has the least knowledge of the *morality* and *refined taste* of that Gentleman, will ever believe, that he could find any thing worthy of *respect* in a production, evidently intended to seduce the rabble of North Britain. Besides, upon looking a second time over the words attributed to *Mr. Jefferson*, I think, it is easy to discover, that the quotation is erroneous : the word *abuses*, I am pretty confident, should be *abuse* ; and thus, by leaving out an *s*, the sentence expresses exactly what one would expect from such a person as *Mr. Jefferson* : "that the work contained the most astonishing concentration of *abuse*, that he had ever heard of."

With respect to those *other gentlemen*, whose encouragement has thrust the author forward, it is not difficult to guess to what *clan* they belong ; but, let them be who they may, and let their situation be what it may (and if I am right in my guess, it is at this time awkward enough) I think they would

not exchange it for the one they have placed him in. He vainly imagines himself the hero of the farce, when he is nothing but the buffoon. Indeed he has described the part he is acting better than I, or any one else can do it. He says, that authors of revolutionary pamphlets form a kind of "forlorn hope on the skirts of battle." Every one knows, that the forlorn hope, or *enfant perdu*, was, amongst the ancient Gauls, composed of the outcasts of society; wretches whose lives were already forfeited (and who had not had the good luck, like our author, to "escape,") who were set in the front of battle, not for their *courage*, but their *crimes*. The comparison he has pilfered from Dean Swift; it is therefore just to return it to its own owner; but as to the application of it to himself, I am certain nobody can have the least objection.

However, I can hardly imagine, that the *encouragement* of these *gentlemen* would, alone, have dragged him into so dangerous a service. I think, his conduct may be, in part accounted for upon physical principles. We are told, that there is, or ought to be, about every human body, a certain part called the *crumena*, upon which depends the whole œconomy of the intestines. When the *crumena* is full, the intestines are in a correspondent state; and then the body is inclined to repose, and the mind to peace and good neighbourhood: but when the *crumena* * becomes empty, the sympathetic intestines are immediately contracted, and the whole internal state of the patient is thrown into insurrection and uproar, which, communicating itself to the brain, produces what a learned state physician calls the *mania reformationis*; and if this malady is not stopped at once, by the help of an

* The purse.

hempen necklace, or some other remedy equally efficacious, it never fails to break out into Atheism, Robbery, Unitarianism, Swindling, Jacobinism, Massacres, Civic Feasts and Insurrections. Now, it appears to me, that our unfortunate Author must be afflicted with this dreadful malady, and if so, I will appeal to any man of feeling, whether his friends would not have shown their humanity, in relieving him by other means than those they have *encouraged* him to employ; which, besides being unproductive, have exposed both him and them to the birch of public opinion.

Such are the mighty effects of the *mania reformationis*, that I was at first inclined to believe, we were indebted to that alone for the publication in question; and that the *gentlemen*, from whom the Author had received *encouragement* to proceed, were purely the creatures of his disordered imagination; but I have lately seen it introduced to public notice so often, and in such a way, that I have been obliged to change my opinion.

A Newspaper printed at Philadelphia, the motto of which is, "*The public will our guide;—the public good our end,*" has borne a conspicuous part in "ushering this dark born devil into light." In one number of that truly puffing print, the speech of a member of Congress is cut asunder in the middle for the purpose of wedging in an extract from *The Political Progress of Britain*. The debate was on *the propriety of the house's censuring certain societies that had assisted in bringing about an insurrection in the western counties of Pennsylvania*; and the extracted morsel, wedged in as above mentioned, went to prove that *bread was absolutely dearer in Scotland than in England!*—Well enough may you stare, reader. Was there ever such an impudent, such a barefaced *puff* as this, since the noble art of puffing has been discovered. And did the author
of

of it imagine, that there was any two legged creature so stupid as not to perceive it? It is an insult to our national understanding. Why not say, candidly; "gentlemen and ladies, here is a poor man in distress, who, for want of better employment, has trumped up an old pamphlet, which he proposes to sell for a new one; in buying each of you one, you will render him a great service, and the bookseller a still greater. Unless you will be pleased to bestow your charity, the worms will stuff away upon the work, while the Author's belly will be empty." This would have been plain downright honest dealing, and would have brought the wished-for relief at once. We give a sixpence to a good, blunt beggar who tells his case in three words; but we have not time to listen to the canting sybil that offers to tell our fortunes for a half-penny.

The gazette above mentioned, in good will to Great Britain, does not yield to *The Political Progress* itself: It can do any thing, it can work miracles, when the "public will", requires it. For this year past it has kept an army of a hundred thousand Carmagnoles in constant readiness to invade England, and has even landed them once, and set them to fricasseeing the poor English, with as little mercy as they do the poor Frogs in their own country. Nor is it second to any, with respect to home affairs. It may be called the political barometer of the Union. At a time when the atmosphere of popular opinion seemed to lower over the principal officers of the Federal Government, the Editor, in conformity to the first part of his motto, expunged the word *Federal* from the title of his gazette. As a reason for this alteration, he observes, with his usual modesty: "Previous to the adoption of the
 " Federal Constitution, this paper bore an *honourable* and decided part in its *favour*; but this Con-
 " stitution

“stitution *no longer* needs the *aid* of a Newspaper.” Notwithstanding this plausible excuse, most people thought, that the expunging of the word *Federal* had something ominous in it. I confess myself to have been of that number; I thought I could perceive in it a preparatory step to something else: as skilful mariners, when they see a storm gathering, throw the heavy lumber overboard that they may be able to tack with more celerity. And, if things had taken a different turn from what they did, who knows but we might have seen the protean Editor change his present admired sign* for the head of Citizen Genet? Happily for all parties, we have been spared this mortification.

I stop here to throw myself on the mercy of the reader. “A digression,” says Shaftsbury, “is ever “inexcusable in proportion as the subject of it is “contemptible.” Acknowledging, as I do, the justness of this maxim, I am but too well assured, that nothing can apologize for the digression I have just been led into.

The Political Progress has, as the girls say, more than one string to its bow. The Editor above mentioned is surpassed in charity by one of his brethren of the same city: the first has only recommended it to others, while the latter has taken it under his own roof. I shall trouble the reader with but one instance, among a hundred, of this *gentleman's* generosity. He is upon the subject of the blood that has been shed in France, since the commencement of the Revolution. He says, “it would be an “easy matter *to apologize for all the massacres* “that have taken place in that country; but even “taking them as they are, it will be found, upon “reflection, that, *at this moment*, the *sum* of human

* Washington's Head.

“happiness is greater in France than in the Queen of Isles:” these are his very words. To prove this he presents us with “an anecdote, copied from a work of great merit (to be had at the office of the *Aurora*,) entitled, *The Political Progress of Britain.*” This rare anecdote informs us, that, in the year *one thousand seven hundred and seventy seven*, a woman was hanged at Tyburn, for stealing a piece of linen. Now, how the hanging of a woman at Tyburn, in 1777, could reduce the sum of human happiness in the Queen of Isles, in 1794; and how the reduction of the sum of human happiness in the Queen of Isles could make an addition to the sum of human happiness in France, is, I presume, a problem to be solved by those, and those alone, who have been initiated in the arcanum of democratic algebra.

Many have been the conjectures on the reason of this Print’s assuming the name of *Aurora*. The Editor, after having, like a second Phæton, driven the blazing car of democratic fury, till it was within an inch of burning us all up to cinders, has assumed the gentle gait and modest veil of the Goddess of the morning. “A right chip of the *Old Block*,” as *Poor Richard* says. Some think, that, having seen the Sun of all his hopes and expectations set in the *west*, he thought it was high time to rise upon us from the *east*. But, however, this is not the reason, the thing is an imitation of a French paper, conducted by “Le véritable père Duchene,”* and bearing the motto, “*Bougrement Patriotique.*” It is something wonderful that the *Aurora* has not adopted a motto so characteristic of the matter it contains: but, to make use of a well known democratic quotation, “*nemo repente fuit turpissimus.*”† Though, perhaps, the *Aurora*,

* The founder of the religion of “Reason” in France, and of which the editor of the *Aurora* is now publishing the manual.

† No one ever became infamous all at once.

and some other prints, may boast of being an exception to this maxim, yet it may serve as a seasonable hint to their readers.

Never mind, reader ; I have set my foot amongst a nest of vipers here ; but the poor devils do not know how to sting. Let them writhe and hiss, while we return to *The Political Progress of Britain*.

Taking it for granted, that the author is neither more nor less than the "forlorn hope" of the phalanx by whom he is encouraged, I do not look upon myself as bound to observe the laws of neutrality towards them, any more than towards him ; and therefore I shall make very free with them, whenever they may fall in my way. Nor will the title of *gentlemen*, which he has, and very uncitizen like too, bestowed on them, withhold my hand ; we know that hawkers and pedlars, swindlers, highwaymen and pickpockets, call one another gentlemen ; and that even the members of every self-created back-door club, except in their fulminations *ex officio*, take the same title ; but does this prevent any body from thinking and speaking of them as they deserve : Certainly not. They claim the liberty of the press in the evomition of their anarchical poison, and shall not others claim the same liberty in administering the antidote ?

What then is this blessed performance ? What does it contain, that such uncommon, such unnatural efforts should be made to drag it into day ? Why, *The Political Progress*, or *Sawney's Complaint* (for this title would become it much better than the one it has assumed),* paints in as odious a light as black and white will admit of, those kings of England

* I cannot leave the reader to imagine for a moment, that I aim here at the Scotch *in general*. They are a *nation* I respect above any other, except my own. For prudence, perseverance, integrity, courage and learning, they are above all praise. And as to loyalty, by no means the least of virtues, the great body

England who have inflicted severities on the Scotch; it abuses all the most celebrated Whigs of the United Kingdoms, and in general, every body who was opposed to the cause of the *Pretender*; it contains the most sophistical and ill-digested account of the national debt, the wars, taxes, and expences of government in Great Britain, that has ever yet appeared; in short, the piece, altogether, forms one of the most complete Whiskey-boy Billingsgate libels, or as Mr. *Jefferson* emphatically expressed it, "the most astonishing concentration of abuse," that ever was seen, or heard of.

Yes, reader, look at it again, and tell me what you can find here that can merit the attention of an *American*. If you want to know the characters of the kings of England, you will find them recorded in history; you will there find the good with the bad; you will find that they have all had their virtues, and most of them their faults. If you find that some of them were wolves, you will never find that their subjects or their neighbours were lambs. From the same source you will learn, that, ever since the abdication of James II. the embers of discontent have been kept alive in Scotland, by the means of ambitious demagogues: you will find that their influence is daily decreasing; but, that, like the Anti-federalists in America, they seize every opportunity to exert it, in reviling the government, representing every tax as an oppression, and exciting the ignorant to insurrection.* You will observe (and undoubtedly with a great

of the nation are far more loyal than their neighbours in the South. But the merits and fidelity of a nation can never justify the apostasy of individuals. After having confessed candidly my admiration and respect for the one, I must be allowed to express as candidly my abhorrence of the other.

* I wish we could say, that a change of air had produced a change of conduct in some of them. The comrades of *Muir* and

deal of pleasure) that exertions of such a horrid tendency have not, latterly, had the same effects there, that they have here ; but you must nevertheless agree, that it was as prudent and as justifiable in the government of Great Britain, to prosecute those who were endeavouring to kindle the flames of civil war in Scotland, as it is in the government of the United States to prosecute the men, who, for a similar crime, are now in Philadelphia jail, waiting their trials. As to the taxes in Great Britain, they are heavy, and I believe in my soul it is in their very nature to be heavy, as much as it is in the nature of lead ; for, the people complain of their weight not only there, but here and every where else. You will, perhaps, like many other compassionate people, feel a good deal of anxiety about the *national debt* of Great Britain, and may possibly have your fears of a *general Bankruptcy* : but, suffer me to caution you against an excess of sensibility ; for, though compassion is, in itself, amiable, it degenerates into weakness, when lavished on an unworthy object : nay, it even looks meddling, if not childish, to be eternally expressing a solicitude for people who do not seem at all sensible of your kindness. Only look at the conduct of their merchants, for example, towards *Mr. Dayton* : we have not heard, that they have expressed the least gratitude to that honest gentleman for his kind motion for putting aside about four or five millions of their dollars, in a safe corner, to preserve them

and *Palmer* were no sooner landed at New York last year, than they began to attack the *American Government*. They openly declared, that it was “ *tarnished by the last and worst disgrace of a free government,*” and said that they looked forward to “ *a more perfect state of Society.*” (See their address to the *Unitarian Doctor.*) I do not say that they had any immediate hand in the western affair : but when rebels, from all quarters of the world are received with open arms, as persecuted patriots, it is no wonder that rebellion should be looked upon as Patriotism.

from

from the Hanover rats and the scrambling clutches of Billy Pitt ! If I were in the place of the honourable Member from New Jersey, I think, it would be a lesson to me never to meddle with their affairs again. Such a perverse stiff-necked race ought to be left to their fate. All we have to do, is, to take care that they do not get into our debt, and then let them break as soon as they will. Humanity requires that we should pity our distressed fellow creatures, but it does not oblige us to expose ourselves to their contempt.

In defence of the conduct of the *gentlemen encouragers* of *The Political Progress of Britain*, it has been roundly asserted, that there exists a Monarchy Party in the United States, and that every thing tending to render it odious is necessary and laudable ; and that, consequently, it was no more than fair play to borrow, or hire, the pen of a needy foreigner to lampoon the government and constitution of his own country. But, whoever will give themselves the trouble to open their eyes, or make use of a very little recollection, will be convinced, I fancy, that there is no reason for alarm on this account.

Our democrats are continually crying shame on the satellites of Royalty, for carrying on a crusade against Liberty ; when the fact, is, the satellites of Liberty* are carrying on a Crusade against Royalty. If one could recollect all their valorous deeds, on this side the water, since the beginning of 1793,

* Take care, reader, how you confound terms here. *Liberty*, according to the Democratic Dictionary, does not mean *freedom from oppression* ; it is a very comprehensive term, signifying among other things, *slavery, robbery, murder and blasphemy*. Citizen David, painter to the Propagande, has represented *Liberty* under the form of a *Dragon* ; it is I suppose, for this reason, that our democrats cry out against St. George, as " the most dangerous of Liberticides."

they would make a history far surpassing that of Tom Thumb or Jack the Giant-killer. The *Aurora*, and two or three other prints of that stamp, have served them by the way of Backers-on: they have been, and are yet, the St. Bernards and Peter the Hermits of the Crusade.

When they found the government was not to be bullied into a war, they were upon the point of declaring in themselves against the coalesced Monarchs, so well known for their depredations on the purses of all Christendom, and against that old ruffian Harry the Eighth, who is a sort of setter-on of the whole pack. And though this resolve was not put into execution, out of respect for the inviolable and sacred person of his Majesty of clubs, they immediately "let slip the dogs of war" at every thing else that bore the name or marks of Royalty.

The first object of attack was the Stage. Every Royal or Noble character was to be driven into everlasting exile, or at least, none such was ever to be introduced except by way of degradation. The words Your Majesty, My Lord, and the like, were held to be as offensive to the chaste ears of republicans, as silks, gold lace, painted cheeks and powdered periwigs to their eyes. In short, the highest and lowest titles were to be *citizen* and *citess*, and the dresses were all to be *à la mode de Paris*.

That the theatre might not suffer for want of pieces adapted to the reformed taste, the reformers had the goodness to propose *William Tell* and several others equally amusing.—*William* was to be modernized; in place of shooting the Governor with a bow and arrow, he was to stab him in the guts with a dagger, cut off his head, and carry it round the stage upon a *pike*, while the music was to play the *Murderer's Hymn* and *ah! ça ira!*

It is hardly necessary to say, that the gentlemen and ladies of the buskin (though they have taken for their motto *Vivat Respublica**) turned a deaf ear to all innovations of this kind. It was no easy matter to persuade people, who had been kings and queens from their infancy, to turn kennel-rakers and cut-throats all at once. In vain did the crusaders represent to them, that their conduct was inconsistent with their motto, and that their vanity was like that of the Ass loaded with relicks. Expostulations and menaces were vain : after having strutted so long in furbelowed brocade and White-chapel diamonds, they felt themselves by no means disposed to go slinking about the scene in a clout.

Some people may think, that this is all invention ; but if they think it worth while to look over the gazettes I have mentioned above, they will find that the merit of it does not fall to my share.

To make the reader amends for *William Tell*, I am going to treat him with a delicate morsel indeed ; and, which adds to its merit, it is not in every body's hands, the publication, from which I have extracted it, being, thank God, but very little known.

“ PHILADELPHIA.

“ A new Song called the Guillotine, sung at the
“ celebration of the *fourth of July*, by a number of

* These, I am told, are cabalistical words of amazing virtue. It was my intention to give the reader a satisfactory explanation of them : but, though I have consulted all the most renowned Cabalists among the Democrats, I have not been able to procure it. Some say that repeating them about nine hundred times every other day will change a high-flying Tory into a staunch Republican. Others say, they have no virtue at all ; and that they mean neither more nor less than—*Huzza for the strongest !*

‘ *French*

“ *French and American* citizens at *Hamburgh*.
 “ Written by the celebrated *Mr. Barlow*, who was
 “ then at that place.

“ God save the Guillotine,
 “ ‘Till *England's King and Queen*,
 “ Her power shall prove:

“ ‘Till each anointed knob
 “ Affords a clipping job,
 “ Let no vile halter rob
 “ The Guillotine.

“ Fame let thy trumpet sound,
 “ Tell all the world around,
 “ How *Capet* fell:

“ And when great *George's* poll
 “ Shall in the basket roll,
 “ Let mercy then controul
 “ The Guillotine.

“ When *all the sceptered crew*
 “ Have paid their homage to
 “ The Guillotine:

“ Let freedom's flag advance,
 “ ‘Till all the world, like France,
 “ O'er tyrants' graves shall dance,
 “ And Peace begin.”

With respect to this tender madrigal, we are at a loss which to admire the most; the style and sentiments of the “celebrated Author,”* the delicacy

* It would be worth the reader's while to enquire whether this *celebrated author* has never employed his poetic talent in making an addition to Dr. Watts's version of the Psalms? If this should appear to be the case, it must be allowed he is in a fair way to become an universal genius, and an honour to his country. The reader will see, in the sequel, that this bloody-minded caitiff was a *hireling* of France, when he wrote the song.

of the Editor, or the taste of his readers. I say *his* readers, for I should be sorry to think it was the taste of the inhabitants, in general, of Philadelphia. However, I think the reader will agree with me, that at a time when such a piece as this could possibly be admitted into a public print, there could be no necessity for a publication of *Sawney's Complaint*: to bring it out after such a tid bit as this, was as bad as serving up a mess of burgoo after a cramberry tart.

That there should be found among us men so vindictive as to pray for the murder of the King and Queen of England, people who had offended us, is not so very astonishing; unfortunately there are men of that stamp in all countries, and, consequently, we must expect to find some of that description amongst those who live by entertaining the public. It is not therefore more wonderful that such a sentiment should find its way into a Newspaper than that it should be conceived. But that there should be found a *number of Americans*, or even *one*, capable of rejoicing and laughing at the tragic fall of the unfortunate Louis XVI. is a fact of such a horrid nature that we wish not to believe our eyes and ears.

Who is not sensible of the efforts, the mighty, the successful efforts, made by that Monarch in favour of these States? Who is not sensible, that to those efforts America owes her Independence? Every one is sensible of it; and it is for this reason, that all parties join in celebrating the 6th of February, the anniversary of the conclusion of the Treaty of Alliance between Louis XVI. and the United States.* Recollect, reader, that the song
above

* I say Louis and the United States, for it was *he*, and he alone. There were no Fayettees, no Robespierces, no Barreres in
these

above quoted, was sung on the *fourth of July*; on the anniversary of that Independence which we boast of as a sovereign good. Recollect that a number of Americans, assembled to rejoice on account of this blessing, called to the universe at the same time to witness their joy at the murder of him who conferred it! This was all that was wanted to the humiliation of the house of Bourbon and to the revenge of its Rival. Poor Louis might deserve something of this kind in the eyes of Englishmen; by them he might expect his memory would be execrated. Could he now look from the grave, what would be his astonishment to see them among the first to defend it, and some of us among the first, among the very first, to tear it to pieces? Could this innocent, this virtuous, this injured prince, now behold the ungrateful hell hounds, that, from all quarters of the world, assail his reputation, would he not exclaim like Cæsar when he saw the dagger of his beloved Brutus,—*and you too, Americans?*

Let us leave these Bacchanalians, whose drink is the blood of their benefactors, and return to our Crusaders; though I am afraid we shall gain but little by the change.

Their next attack was on all pictures, carved work, and stucco work. At the distance of a few miles from the Metropolis, a Tavern-Keeper, who, about seven years ago, hoisted the *Queen of France*,

those days: the king was absolute, and to him was the alliance owing, and to nobody else. He was then as much and more, an absolute monarch than he was at the beginning of the French Revolution; yet none of us ever dreamed of calling him a *despot*, a *tyrant*, “an *erminded monster*.” The Congress, the very Congress that declared us independent, declared him to be our *great and good ally*, our *deliverer*; and not a word about *despotism*. Whence come all these opprobrious terms now? From the ungrateful hearts of those who make use of them.

to attract custom to his house, found it necessary last summer, to sever her head from her body, and set the blood streaming down her garments.*

Who can have forgotten the card, sent to the Clergy and Vestry of Christ Church? This card begged, or rather demanded, of the persons to whom it was addressed, to remove the image and crown of George II., and to be as quick as possible in doing it, for fear it should endanger the salvation of the citizens; "for," says the card, "that *mark of infamy* has a tendency to keep many *young and virtuous men* from attending public worship."

For my part, I look upon the destruction of this image and crown as an event of about as much consequence to the citizens of Philadelphia as the destruction of the *Swiss*,† *at the door of their Library*, would be. The church is full as well without it, as with it. I have frequented Christ Church for near about thirty years, without ever observing that such a thing was on the walls of it; nor did I ever imagine that *my salvation could be endangered* by the form of a lump of stucco. In this affair, one would have wished only, for the sake of those who made the request, that it had not been made at so unfortunate a juncture. It was almost literally biting off the nose to be revenged on the face. George II. who died, God rest his soul, in 1760, could not help Sir Charles Gray's taking the French

* The reader will undoubtedly feel a considerable relief when he hears that this complaisant creature was a *patriotic* Englishman. But who were his customers?

† This image has obtained the name of the *Swiss* for two reasons: First, because the citizens of Switzerland are generally employed by other nations in the capacity of *Porters*: and secondly, because their motto is, "*Point d'argent, point de Suisse*;" in English, "*No pay, no Swiss*." I leave the reader to determine whether the name be applicable or not to the statue of *Old Franklin*.

Islands,

Islands, Colonel Braithwaite's taken Pondicherry, Lord Hood's taking Corsica, and burning the arsenals and Fleet at Toulon, nor Lord Howe's unmerciful inhuman bastinado of the Carmagnole Fleet off Ushant, all which happened in 1794; yet I believe, nobody doubted, that if nothing of this kind had taken place, the "*young and virtuous men*" would have felt no qualms of conscience on account of the image and crown. If the poor image could have spoken, it certainly would have remonstrated against such an act of manifest injustice; an act transgressing all laws both human and divine; for, I believe it is a principle established in law, that thirty years, if not less, of uninterrupted possession, constitutes a right; and, though we have heard of the sins of the fathers being visited upon the children, it was left for these "*young and virtuous men*" to find out the justice of visiting the sins of the children upon the fathers.

Of a piece with this heroic action was that of the Democrats, of *Charlestown*, South Carolina, when they precipitated the statue of the late Lord Chatham from its pedestal, and bragged in the Gazettes of having severed the head from the body. If one were to ask these wiseacres, what honour or profit they could promise themselves in this triumph over a piece of marble, I wonder what would be their answer. It was not the English that placed it there; it was themselves. It was an idol they had raised with their own hands. Did they expect to find it, like the man's wooden God, stuffed with gold and silver? Had this been the case, and had their expectation been well founded, the profit of the enterprize might have kept them in countenance: but, as it was, their sally of sans-culottism has produced them nothing but derision; has fixed them as a mark, "for the hand of scorn to point his slow and moving finger at." People compare them to the child who fights with his man of clay, and

calls out to his playmates to admire his bravery. No wonder that the Jacobin club at Paris should object to the adoption of ninnies like these.

I will not fatigue the reader with any more of these feats of modern chivalry; what I have here related will, I think, be sufficient to prove, that the pictures of half a dozen old kings painted with a Caledonian mop, were by no means necessary to frighten the people into Democratic principles.

I now come to an epoch of American sans-culottism, that ought not to be forgotten in haste. I mean the beginning of the Western Rebellion. When the back-door clubs first received the news, they put a Janus's face upon the matter: they pretended not to approve, altogether, of the *hostile* operations of *ther* "Western Brethren;" but at the same time they took good care to declare, that they would *never cease to oppose the law which had given them umbrage*. The manœuvres that were employed to prevent the militia of Pennsylvania from turning out, and the sarcasms that were thrown out on the Jersey militia, only because they did turn out, are fresh in every one's memory, as is the ever memorable petition that was presented to the house of representatives of the state of Pennsylvania, on the 6th of September last. The legislature was no sooner met, for the special purpose of enforcing the execution of one excise law, than they were besought to assist in opposing another excise law! The petition was an appeal to the legislature, not from an inferior, but from a superior legislature; and, which is perhaps the most incongruous of all the incongruities that ever were heard of, at the head of the appellants was the president of one branch of that very legislature from which they were appealing!* Had the President of the United States joined

* F. A. Muhlenburgh, speaker of the Federal House of Representatives, was at the head of the petitioners against the excise

Citizen Genet, in his appeal to the people, the step would not have been more ridiculous.

No body can doubt, that the scheme of the Democrats was, by means like these, to deaden the limbs of government, and then seize the reins themselves. But success was dubious : they therefore proceeded with caution. Look at and admire their conduct, from this time, 'till they saw a sufficient force ready to march against their "Western Brethren." You will find them lying on their arms, silent and snug, but the instant such a force appeared, adieu all *relationship* : the poor devils were in a moment transformed from "Western Brethren" into "Insurgents," and (Oh, monstrous transformation !) even into "Royalists !" If this be the way they treat their own flesh and blood, what have strangers to expect at their hands ?

Let this be a warning to you, all you understrappers of Democratic clubs ; leave off your bawling and your toasting, go home and sell your *sugar* and your *snuff*, and leave the care of "*Posterity*" to other heads ; for, when the hour of discomfiture arrives, your Jack Straws and your C. Foxes will leave you in the lurch. When you get your carcasses bastinadoed, or, which is far worse, penned up within the walls of a jail, they will scoff at you, as the devil does at a baffled sinner. This is an article of their creed. Do you want a proof of it ? Look at their conduct towards their venerable founder, Citizen Genet : no sooner had the poor citizen made his political exit, than they began to dance on his grave, as their brother Barlow did on

excise on Sugar and Snuff—The petition was presented to the legislature of Pennsylvania, then assembled for devising the means of raising a force to march against the opposers of the excise on whisky.

that

that of Louis XVI. However all their ungrateful efforts, all their unnatural malice has not been able to injure their immortal Sire.—Though baffled and persecuted * on this side the Styx, he has bribed old Charon to ferry him over into the Island of Bliss, where he may, uninterrupted by tormenting Aristocrats, sip the live long day, and the live long night too, at the lovely stream, flowing from the pure fountain of the purest democracy.

But to return; our Democrats had another view in stigmatizing their "Western Brethren" for royalists, besides that of disowning them. They saw a good opportunity of throwing the blame on the shoulders of Great Britain, at the same time that they had shifted it from their own. Thus by a stroke of address peculiar to themselves they turned misfortune to advantage: this was making the best of a bad market with a vengeance! Hence all the grave alarming accounts of people's crying out, "King George for ever;" and of billets being stuck upon trees with, "*British freedom will never oppose you.*" Billets stuck upon trees! Like those of Orlando and Rosalind, I suppose.

"Until the tree shall quit the rind,

"I'll never quit my Rosalind."

This is very pretty in making love, but it is a romantic way of carrying on Treason and Rebellion, and seems to agree but very badly with the language of those gentle swains assembled at Parkinson's Ferry.

I must be excused also, if I do not give full credit to what the Governor of Pennsylvania asserted on this subject, when he was haranguing the mili-

* Clinton, the Governor of New York, whose daughter Genet married.

tia officers to persuade them to assemble their quotas, for the purpose of marching against the "Western Brethren."—"Listen," said he, "to the language of the *Insurgents*, and your spirit will burn with indignation.* They not only assert that certain laws shall be repealed, let the sense of the majority be what it may, but they threaten us with the establishment of an independent government, or *a return to the allegiance of Great Britain.*"

Most people thought this was a *bolt shot*; but, they forgot, that he said in the same harangue, that, "from defect in the militia system, *or some other unfortunate cause*, the attempts to obtain the quota of militia by regular drafts had failed." If they had recollected, that under such circumstances, the end of an harangue was to "stir men's bloods," and not to be very nice in the statement of facts, they would not have been surprised, that our Solomon (I can have no intention to hint, that the wise governor has ever had *three hundred concubines* at a time; human nature could not stand that, now a days) they would not, I say, have been surprised, that our Solomon should choose Great Britain as a spur.

Reader, when you were a little boy, did you never carry on a secret correspondence with the pies and tarts; and, when, by the rattling of the plates, or some other accident, you were like to be caught at it, did you never raise a hue and cry against the poor dogs and cats? Those who look upon the conduct of our Democrats as unnatural, forget their own little roguish tricks.

I will venture to say, that there are not five persons in the United States, possessing a degree of

* Ah, Sir! ought the officers and soldiers of the State of *Pennsylvania* to feel indignation against nobody but the *deluded* "Western Brethren?"

understanding superior to that of the brute creation, who believe that the Rebels have ever had, from first to last, the least idea of seeking protection from the British. From whence comes the probability? *All* their partizans in *this quarter* were to be found among the *revilers* of Great Britain. Read their resolves, and see if you can find any thing that leaves them a possibility of fraternizing with the British. Besides, can any body suppose, that the British would have accepted of them? Unless, indeed, they had had them in Europe, where they might have employed them as a "forlorn hope;" as the Democrats have the poor Author of the *Political Progress*. I fancy, if they, with *all* their partizans, and *Tom* the Tinker and his *prevaricating* Coadjutor at their head, had gone and offered themselves, bodies and souls, to Old foxy Dorchester, he would have said, as Louis XI. did to the Genoese: "*Vous vous donnez à moi, et moi je vous donne au diable.*"*

I ask any reasonable man, what they could possibly expect to do among the British? The British have so many of this stamp already, that they are sending off ship loads to Botany Bay every month. Could a fellow, for instance imagine, that having been the *secretary of a back-door club*, would recommend him to the post of secretary in Canada? Prudence would prevent the employment of one whose *only talent* is *blowing hot and cold with the same mouth*, because such a person might become *the tool of every intriguing foreigner*, and by his *prevarication*, might embroil the whole government. Would any one (except one *like himself*) put such a man in a post of confidence? I put this question to every thinking American, and particularly to every Pennsylvanian.

* "You give yourself to me, and I give you to the devil."

And with respect to *Tom* the Tinker himself (for he is, on every account, entitled to the pre-eminence), what could he expect among the British? If he were to play any of his drunken tinker like tricks amongst them, it would not be begging pardon that would bring him off. If we were to tell them that his “hammer was up, and his ladle hot, “and that he would not *travel the country for no-thing,*” I am mistaken if they would not pay him off with a good five hundred lashes, well counted; for the British are punctual in paying their debts. They would teach him how to set people together by the ears another time.

Could a sot like *Tom* imagine that the Canadian ladies would have fallen in love with him, because his scull had often been decorated with a liberty cap, to testify his attachment to the nation from which they are descended? No; the ladies, all the world over, from long experience, are too well convinced of the truth of Goldsmith’s maxim: “A man who “is eternally vociferating liberty! liberty! is generally, *in his own family,* a most cruel and *inhuman tyrant.*”

The truth is, those among us who have made the most noise, and have expressed the most rancour against Great Britain, seem to have done it only to cover their enmity to the Federal Government, and consequently to their country, if we may with propriety call it *their* country. Let any man take a review of their conduct since the beginning of the present European war, and see if this observation is not uniformly true. It was they who raised such a clamour against the President’s Proclamation of Neutrality; it was they who encouraged an insolent and intriguing foreigner to set the laws of the Union at defiance, and to treat the Supreme Executive Authority as if he had been a Tallien, or a Barrere, or the President of nothing but a Democratic

tic or Jacobin Club ; it was they who brought the vexations and depredations on the commerce, and then guillotined in effigy the Ambassador Extraordinary, the Angel of peace, who went to repair their fault ; finally, it was they who fanned the embers of Rebellion in the West into a flame, and caused fourteen or fifteen thousand men to be taken from their homes, to undergo a most fatiguing campaign, at the expence of a million and an half of Dollars to the United States. The same perverse clan that heroically hurled down the Statue of Lord Chatham, and manfully made war upon an Image and a Crown, endeavoured to introduce a law to prevent the President of the United States from being re-elected, and openly declared (by the usual vehicle of their manifestos, a gazette), that it was improper to send the Chief Judge as Ambassador Extraordinary to England, because they might want him here to—try the President !

It is rather an awkward circumstance, I must confess, that the meddling enemies of the British Government and of that of the United States should be the same, the fact is however indisputable, as will appear in a minute.

For proof, I like always to have recourse to what has appeared in print ; words are wind ; a man says a thing in earnest that he retracts by turning it into a joke. Besides, we say a hundred things in the heat of argument or passion, that we do not think : but writing, particularly writing for the press, is a deliberate act. When a person sits down to write, his mind must be in some sort composed ; time is necessary for the arrangement of his ideas : what he has written must be examined with care ; he augments, curtails, corrects and improves. All this naturally implies the most mature reflection, and makes an assertion or an opinion in print be justly regarded as irrefragable. For this reason, I shall,

shall, in support of my position, bring an extract from print, the character of which, in the *patriotic* world, yields to that of no one.

I have already done myself the honour of extracting a song from this print, after which its hatred to the Government of Great Britain will not be disputed, and, I think, the reader will soon be convinced that its hatred to that of the United States is equally sincere. Indeed the following extract bears in itself such ample confirmation of what I assert, that it needs no comment.

“ There is a set of men in this country [America] who, to palliate, or rather to deny the maladministration of Government, charge the *discontents* and *clamours* of the people to a restless temper, or the arts of factious and designing men. In order to illustrate this assertion, it is insisted that *our constitution* is a perfection of human wisdom—it is admitted that our constitution is excellent, and that compared with the forms of government which have preceded it, we really discover a superiority, that occasions a surprise that the people are not happy and contented.”

“ Whatever courtiers may please to say, on my part, I feel no inclination to compliment men in power at the expense of the disposition and good sense of my fellow citizens——To charge a people heretofore distinguished for their prompt and due submission to the laws, and orderly conduct, with turbulence and *unjust discontent*, or to suppose that the good sense of American citizens cannot penetrate the designs of factious men, are assertions scarcely meriting serious attention.”

“ The constitution of the United States is free and excellent, and yet the people are *not* happy and contented. In free governments when the laws are well administered, the national honour regarded, and the property of the citizens protected,

" tected, submission to the law, and confidence in
 " those who are charged with the administration,
 " will consequently follow. But when the property
 " of the *citizen* is unprotected, nay, even his *sacred*
 " person can find no protection*—when the ho-
 " nour of the nation is become so *prostituted*, that
 " an invasion of territory or denial of just right is
 " submitted to with humility—when the national
 " honour cannot be asserted, because it might in-
 " terfere with the *venal projects of a certain junto*
 " —when every measure which is *pretended* to be
 " pursued for the public welfare, is veiled with a
 " mysterious secrecy becoming a *Turkish Divan*,
 " and when men are appointed to procure redress—
 " in whom the people most interested *have no confi-*
 " *dence*, and against whom constitutional objections
 " are justly suggested; what are we to expect?—
 " disgust; discontent and total want of confidence
 " must result."

" That the people are dissatisfied, and do com-
 " plain from New-Hampshire to Georgia, from the
 " Ocean to the Mississippi, is what no prostitut-
 " ed sycophant of power will dare deny—That
 " those complaints are too well founded is our mis-
 " fortune—but if you doubt, ask your merchant
 " what redress he has received for his *property rob-*
 " *bed* and plundered upon the most infamous pre-
 " texts? ask your mariner what *redress he has re-*
 " *ceived for the loss of his hard earned services** for
 " his suffering by prison-ships and impressment?—

* I wonder whether this furious Democrat would have the Congress go in person and tear the Dey of Algiers's eyes out? How could they help the peace between the Algerines and Portuguese, any more than they can help its thundering or raining? I'll venture my life this liberty boy has never given a penny towards the ransoming of the prisoners in Algiers.

* I suppose the reader knows, that Democrats claim as a natural privilege, an exemption from writing and speaking sense.
 ask,

“ ask your fellow citizens from one end of our ex-
 “ tensive frontier to the other, what they suffer ? on
 “ the one hand they are exposed to the murdering
 “ hatchet of the savage Indians, and the encroach-
 “ ments of *the more savage Briton*.——On the
 “ other a *natural* right is withheld, though *secured*
 “ *by solemn treaty*.—But under all these disgraceful
 “ and distressing circumstances, we are told that
 “ our complaints are the ebullitions of a restless dis-
 “ position, or that they are created by the machina-
 “ tions of a faction—for we have a most excellent
 “ government, and virtuous, and great men to ad-
 “ minister it.—That the government is good we
 “ believe—but without charging any particular
 “ branch of it, we shall not hesitate to pronounce
 “ that our affairs are badly conducted, and whether
 “ from the errors of ignorance or the designs of
 “ wickedness, a remedy should be applied—And,
 “ thank God ! that remedy, though *not immediately*,
 “ will, *'ere long, be in the hands of the people*,*—
 “ then it is to be hoped that the *true republicans*
 “ of America will unite, hurl with just resentment
 “ from their exalted stations, men who have abused
 “ the confidence of a generous people.—*To effect*
 “ *this*—persevere, ye writers in defence of liberty—
 “ and you, *popular societies*, relax not your *laudable*
 “ *pursuits*, your countrymen shall bless you, and
 “ your honest zeal shall be crowned with patriotic
 “ rewards——let no considerations of *past services*,
 “ or temporary dignity, deter you from exhibiting
 “ to public view the *public servant* who has abused
 “ *his trust*, or acts not for the interest of those who
 “ constituted him. Disregard the insinuations of
 “ men who object to such institutions—no man

* This prophecy appeared in print about the 20th of July last, just at the time when the rebellion in the West was breaking out ; its date explains its meaning.

“ would object to such societies, but *one who wishes*
 “ *to reduce you to the condition of slaves*, to deprive
 “ you of the right of thinking and exercising your
 “ opinions upon public affairs, or one whose con-
 “ duct will not bear the test of investigation.”

I could go on a thousand pages with pieces of this cast, that have appeared within the last nine months; but, I dare say, the reader will excuse my stopping here. This piece was among the first I came at, and I have copied it word for word, and letter for letter, without even the omission of a comma or a dash. Since the failure of the Western Rebellion, there is no doubt that the Author or Authors of it would wish it turned into blank paper; but, alas! the wish is vain; in vain would they cry, with lady Macbeth; “out, damn’d spot!” It is like—their reputations.

Thus then I think, nobody will deny, that a hatred of the British Government and of that of the United States go hand in hand. Nor is the reason of this at all mysterious; it is not because of their resemblance to each other in form, nor as the Democrats have ingeniously observed, because “there is some dangerous connection between Great Britain and our public affairs;” it is because they are both pursuing the same line of conduct with respect to clubs and conspiracies; it is because they both possess the same radical defect, a power to suppress anarchy; it is, to say all in one word, because they are *governments*. Great Britain has a government of some sort (nobody will deny that I suppose), and this is sufficient to make her an object of their execration. It is not the form of a government, it is not the manner of its administration; it is the thing itself they are at war with, and that they must be eternally at war with; for government implies order, and order and anarchy can never agree. The Carmagnole system (if there
 can

can be any system in annihilation) is exactly adapted to their taste and interest; a system that has made "rich men look sad, and ruffians dance and sing." If this were not the true reason, why such an eternal larum about the British Government? What have we or our Democrats to do with it? If the people of that country like it, why need it pester us? That pious and patriotic Scotchman, the Author of *the Political Progress*, tells us "to wish that an Earthquake or a Volcano may bury the whole British islands* together in the centre of the globe; that a single, but decisive exertion of Almighty vengeance may terminate the *progress*† and the remembrance of their crimes." Yea, be it even as thou sayest, thou mighty Cyclop; but let us leave them then to the vengeance of the Almighty; let us not usurp the place of the Thunderer.

Understand me, reader; I would by no means insinuate, that a man cannot be a firm friend of the Federal Government and at the same time wish all manner of success to the French, in their present struggle for what their vanity and our complaisance have termed liberty; on the contrary, I think it very natural for an American, who has no other idea of liberty than that which is conveyed to him by his senses; who is not refined enough to taste that metaphysical kind of liberty, that can exist only in a brain afflicted with the *mania reformationis*; who in short, has no notion that liberty consists in yielding up the crop he has laboured all the year to raise, and in receiving three or four ounces of black bread a day in lieu of it: it is natural, and even laudable

* And the Isle of Sky, that "terrestrial Paradise," among the rest.

† If some such exertion had terminated another *progress*, it might have spared somebody a good many fits of the gripes.

for such a man to be zealous in the cause of the French, who, as he is told, are fighting for liberty : but even he ought to keep his zeal within the bounds of decency : when it breaks out into Civic Feasts, Cockades à *la tricolore*, and such like buffoonery, it exposes him to ridicule, and makes him one of the rabble. “ Let the French wear their “ garlands of straw ; let them dress up their “ strumpets, in leaves of oak, and nick-name “ their calendar, let them play those pranks “ at home, and we shall be but merry spectators.” These are the words of a gentleman, who seems to have been, on this occasion, and, indeed, on most other occasions, rather unfriendly to our dear allies. I am for carrying our complaisance further ; I am for not only letting them play their pranks at home, but here also if they please. If there be something, the seeing of which may turn to our amusement or profit, I see no reason why we should shut our eyes. Did not the wise Lacedemonians make their slaves drunk, and turn them loose, once a year, to inspire their youth with a horror for that beastly vice ? In short, I am for hearing them, looking at them, laughing at them, or any thing but imitating them. Imitation here is ridiculous. When Shakespear wrote the character of an *Iago* or a *Caliban*, or Moliere that of a *Tartuffe*, they certainly never meant to excite imitation. Thousands of mob crowd to see one of their friends hanged, but not one of them ever dreams of participating in the ceremony.

Talking of dreaming puts me in mind of a dream I had last summer, which is so à-propos to the present subject, and contains so many whimsical circumstances, that I flatter myself it will not be disagreeable to the reader.

In the month of *August* last (I believe, it was on 10th or 11th day,) I retired to rest about eleven o'clock ; but the heat and musquitoes together prevented

vented me from falling asleep, 'till the watchman had been round for three. Soon after this I dropped off for about an hour and a half, during which time my fancy sported in the following dream.*

I thought I was walking up Market-street, by the side of old William Penn, the founder of the city; who told me, I thought, that he was come upon earth again to see if his descendants, and those of his companions, continued to walk in the paths of peace and integrity. I thought I asked him, with a kind of a sneer, whether he had not found things surpassing his expectation; upon which the old man, after a heavy sigh, told me a long deal about freeing blacks with one hand, and buying whites with the other, about godly malice and maple-sugar, and about those "precious hypocrites" (these were his very words) Brissot and Warner Mifflin,† &c. &c. &c. to the end of the chapter.

Before

* The reader will perceive, that I here describe the Civic Fête of the 10th of August.

† To justify this title of "precious hypocrites," I shall here give an extract from Brissot's Travels. Letter IX.

"I knew, (says Friend Warner to Friend Brissot) I knew, friend, that thou wast here, and I am come to see thee. Besides, I *love thy nation*. I was, I confess, much prejudiced against the French; I even *bated them*, having in this respect been misled by an *English* education. But, when I saw them, a *secret voice* said to me that I ought to *know* them and *love* them. I have *known* them, and found them to possess a spirit of *mildness and benevolence* that I *never found among the English*."

"This made," says Friend Brissot, "a deep impression on my heart. What humanity what charity, what love of mankind!"

Yes, this made so strong an impression on Friend Brissot's heart, that the villain went home and set to murdering with the utmost diligence. This very Brissot was the leading accuser of the king for the conspiracy of the 10th of August, and he afterwards boasted of having *himself organized the conspiracy*, in concert with Louvet, &c. "What humanity! what charity!"

Before the good old man had finished his story, which, by the by, was a pretty tough one, we were, I thought, got to the upper end of Market Street, where we were stopped by a monstrous crowd of people, that not only blocked up the way, but filled all the fields for a great way out. I thought, however, that we wedged along among the crowd for a good while, 'till at last we could penetrate no further. Our ears were assailed from all quarters with the firing of cannon, sounding of trumpets, beating of drums, ringing of bells, singing, whooping, hallooing and blaspheming, as if hell itself had been broken loose. Yet, the crowd seemed not to express the least fear: joy seemed seated on every countenance, and expectation in every eye. We had not waited long in this situation, when two banners, at some little distance, announced the approach of a procession, at once the most ludicrous and most idolatrous that ever eyes beheld. I thought, there was a sort of pyramid, made of paper, with a red night cap upon the top of it, and carried by two Americans and two Foreigners, all of whom, like the pyramid, were dressed in red night caps. Round the pyramid marched I thought, a bevy of virgins in white

As to Friend Warner, the English learnt him to *bate the French*, though they could not learn him to *pull off his hat*. "What humanity! what charity!"—A secret *voice* told him that he ought to *know* them and to *love* them, and he has *known* and *loved* them, and found them to possess a spirit of *mildness*, &c. Warner seems to have forgotten their scalping knives; but let him *now* tell us whether they are *mild* or not. If I *know* this Warner I would make him a present of a "*Bloody Buoy*," which I think would convince him, that, in spite of all his cant, the English still possess a little more *mildness* than his new Friends.

I beg to be understood here, as throwing no slur on the sect to which Warner belongs, and for which I have as much respect as most persons.

robes,

robes, each wearing a crown and cestus tricolor, and bearing a garland in her hand; and (what stuff do we dream of!) I thought these nymphs were ushered by nine or ten priests, whose only mark of distinction was a *nosegay* of *straw* tied round with a ribbon. I thought that behind these, came a company of artillery with their cannon, and that they were followed by a gang of music. Then, I thought, followed the two banners above mentioned; one of them having for arms the Imperial Eagle, just as it is seen on the standards of the Holy Roman Empire; the other was so black and dirty that I could not distinguish its armory; it seemed, I thought, rather the ensign of the infernal regions than of any earthly nation. "After this I beheld, "and, lo, a great multitude that no man could "number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues," and *colours*. I thought however I could distinguish amongst them (but it is all a dream) the *Chiefs of the State of Pennsylvania!!*

I thought, we followed this antick show into a spacious enclosure, where, on an altar, not of burnished gold, but of deal boards, stood *The Goddess*, the object of the Feast. She was dressed like the Cyprian Queen when she received the prize from the Idalian Shepherd; that is to say,—in her skin: in her right hand she held a staff mounted with a night-cap, and in her left, a dagger; on her head she had a cap, decorated, in appearance, with pendant lillies; but, upon closer examination, I thought I found them to be real bells. This discovery, led me to perceive, that I had committed an error with respect to the identity of her person; for hearing that her worshippers were called *cus-nus*, I had concluded she was the Goddess *Cloacina*, and in this opinion I was in some measure confirmed by seeing her worshipped with *nosegays of straw*; but the cap and bells set me right at once.

In short, I saw plainly it was the *Goddess of Folly*; which, I thought, was besides fully proved by the behaviour of the crowd. But, still, the dagger remained unexplained; for, we all know, that that weapon is not among the insignia of this Goddess. In this perplexity I happened to cast my eyes downward, and, on the front of the altar, I thought I saw the following phrase from Voltaire: "*Sous ma tutelle, les singes agacent les tigres.*"

The priests I thought were ranged round the altar, offering up their nosebags, and invoking the assistance of the Goddess, while the air rang with Hallelujahs. The invocation was no sooner ended and the benediction given by the High Priest, than the whole (not excepting the *Chiefs*, I thought, of the *State of Pennsylvania*) began dancing and capering *à la cannibale* round the altar, at the same time deafening the very firmament with their cries.

Here my venerable companion, who had been very uneasy during the whole scene, would absolutely stop no longer; and to confess a truth, I began to feel a good deal uneasy myself. I thought we got with some difficulty to the outside, and seeing a young fellow of a milder aspect than the rest, the old man ventured to ask him, *how long those people had been Pagans*. I thought the fellow gave him a look of infinite contempt and answered: "I see you are a superstitious old fool, that knows nothing of the luminous close of the Eighteenth Century. Why, you stupid old dog, we are all Christians yet: what you have seen to-day is only a jubilee, to celebrate the down-fall of *our best friend*, and the massacre of *nine hundred* of our neighbours by the hands of *forty thousand* two legged monsters."

As he spoke these last words, I thought his person, which was that of a genteel and gentle American,

rican, assumed the hideous form of the terrific *Medusa*; his fingers were transformed into the claws of a Tiger, the fangs of a boar hung down his foaming jaws, his eyes became a glaring ball, and his hair a bed of Snakes, curling round his scull and hissing destruction. The poor Old Man, though immortal, was appalled, and rushed into the grave to hide himself from the petrifying sight. I uttered a shriek, and awaked; but awaking was very far from putting an end to my fright: still the noise continued, and still was I stiffened with horror; unable to determine whether it was a dream or not. My voice, however, had alarmed the family, and Oh! how glad was I to find, that the noise I heard, was nothing but that of the French and "our own *citizens*," assembled to celebrate the "*Holy Insurrection*" of the 23d Thermidor, 10th of August, Old style.*

Ah! Mr. Author of *The Political Progress*; you think I have forgotten you, do you? You will find presently that I have not: but I must have time for sleeping, you know, whether I dream or not, I did not, like you, bring my pamphlet, ready fabricated, from Scotland; and, besides, I have better company than you, at present, you will therefore please to excuse me for a quarter of an hour longer.

In France, and I believe, in most of the other countries of Europe, when a Mountebank Doctor, a puppet man, or any other of the itinerant tribe, enters a town, he goes round with a trumpet to announce his arrival. Tantarra soon brings a troop of blackguard boys round him, and, thus attended, he struts about the streets, stopping from time to time to advertise the people of the unheard-of feats that are just going to be performed, and con-

* To those who live at some distance from Philadelphia, it may be necessary to say, that this is a correct description of the *Civic Feast* that was held there on the 10th of August, 1794.

cluding every harangue with, "*hollow*, you dogs, "*hollow!*" Upon this follows a noise, compared to which, the War Whoop of the Indians, or even a debate in the National Convention is melody. But, detestable as it is, it answers the purpose of the operator; for, though sober sensible people shun him, and all that belongs to him, as they would the itch or the halter, he generally finds dupes in too great abundance.

How often has this *tour* of European *charlatanerie* been played off upon us, since the month of March, 1793. Since that time more money has been spent in drinking "destruction to the "combined despots," and *Liberty* to the *French*, than would have ransomed our unfortunate, and I am afraid forgotten, brethren, who are groaning in chains in Algiers! Merciful Heaven! that hearest the moans of the Captive, and seest the hearts of all men, is this "*humanity?*" Is this "*patriotism?*" If any thing could add to the humiliation of having been the Zany of a *charlatan*, it would certainly be this.

Among the many shining talents of our Democrats, there is none for which they are more justly deserving admiration than their adroitness in transferring their attachment from one object to another. It is beyond the power of figures or words to express the hugs and kisses that were lavished on Citizen Genet. The poor citizen had like to have shared the fate of the image of Abel, on the church of our lady of Loretto, which, we are told, is almost worn away by the ardent kisses of the Pilgrims: for, our Pilgrims who went to meet the citizen, were by no means less eager to give this mark of their affection to the darling of the great Alma Mater of Anarchy. Such was their eagerness to obtain precedence on this joyful occasion, that very few parts, if any, of the Citizen's body, escaped

escaped a salute ; and before he arrived safe at the "*Capitol*" of some places, he was licked as clean as a bear at three hours after being whelped.

For a long time *Lafayette* was their god ;* but it was found just and fit to exchange him for the "virtuous *Egalité*." *Egalité* was supplanted by *Danton* ; "the great and dreadful *Danton*, who comes thundering on the Aristocrats, like *Neptune* from *Olympus*."† But the Olympian thunder of this Neptune was obliged to give place to the "*morals and religion of Robespierre*." After his pious report on the subject of religion, which the Unitarian Doctor (Priestly) read "with pleasure" and even enthusiasm," it is thought that our Democrats really began to believe there was a God ; and there is no telling what a favourable change of conduct this might have produced, if the news of the unfortunate catastrophe of the 18th of July had not come to set their affection afloat again. Alas ! it is now wandering on the sea of uncertainty ; nor can we ever expect to see it cast anchor, 'till we know who has the secure possession of the Guillotine.

Yet (for though I hate the very name of Democrat, I would scorn to detract from their merit) there is one character to whom they have ever preserved an unshaken attachment. How grateful must it be to thee, injured shade of the gentle *Marat* ! whether thou wanderest on the flowery banks of the Stygian Pool, or bathest thy pure

* *Paine* dedicated his second part of *The Rights of Man* to *Lafayette*, and, in less than a year afterwards, assisted in passing an act of condemnation against him ; and another act, by which his wife and children were left without bread to eat ! Poor *Lafayette* ! to make use of a parody on your own words, "May your fate serve as a lesson to demagogues, and as an example to governments."

† See the *Aurora*.

limbs in the delightful liquid of Tartarus, or walkest hand in hand with *Jesus Christ* in that Literary Elysium, the PHILADELPHIA GAZETTE, *—how grateful must it be to thee, though thou makest Hell more hideous and frightenest the very furies into fits, to be yet adored by the Democrats of the city of *Brotherly Love*.

The American Union presents, at this moment, a spectacle that startles the eye of reason. We see a kind of political land-mark, on one side of which, Order walks hand in hand with the most perfect liberty; and, on the other, Anarchy revels, surrounded with its den of slaves. We see, that those who are most accustomed to the exercise of tyranny, are the first to oppose every measure for the curbing of licentiousness; or, in other words, we see, that anarchy and despotism are the same.

* In this print, for the month of July last, is a list of Democrats, *the great benefactors of mankind*; among them are *Marat* and *Jesus Christ*.

I hope, reader, you are sensible of the benefits *Jesus Christ* has conferred on the world; but perhaps you may not know what has entitled *Marat* to an equality with him. Know then, that *Marat* was the principal author of the massacres of the 2d and 3d September, 1792, in which upwards of two thousand five hundred innocent persons were inhumanly butchered; and that, after this, he openly declared in the National Convention, and published repeatedly, that another two hundred and fifty thousand heads were necessary to the establishment of the Liberty of the French.

Doctor Moore (who was far from being an enemy to revolutionary principles) speaks of *Marat* in the following terms: "*Marat* is a little man of a cadaverous complexion, and a countenance exceedingly expressive of his disposition; to a painter of Massacres, *Marat's* head would be inestimable." In another place he says: "*This Marat* is said to love carnage like a vulture, and to delight in human sacrifices like Moloch, God of the Ammonites." Here, reader, you see the man that the *Philadelphia Gazette* (whose end is "the public good") puts upon a level with the *Blessed Jesus*!!—The reader will, by and by, find, that *Brown*, the publisher of this *Gazette*, was a deserter from the British army.

If

If there could be found a person in this country who has a doubt of this, I think the following authentic pieces would operate his conviction. We ought not to speak ill of our neighbours, but if people will speak ill of themselves, believing them ought not to be termed malice. Let us hear then what our Democrats say of themselves.

Toasts drunk on the 6th of Feb. 1794, by French and American Citizens.

- “ 1. The Democratic Societies throughout the world—may they ever be the watchful guardians of Liberty.
- “ 2. Citizen *Maddison* and the *Republican party* in Congress.
- “ 3. The firm Patriot and *true Republican*, Citizen Genet.*——A salute from the French Sloop of War.
- “ 4. The Guillotine to all Tyrants, Plunderers, and *funding* Speculators.
- “ 5. May the flags of France and America ever be united against regal tyranny.
- “ 6. The 6th of February, 1778, *the day which secured liberty to America* † and sowed its seeds in the soil of France.
- “ 7. Gratitude. The first of national as well as individual virtues. ‡

* This was candid indeed. The Democrats might have left us to believe, that the “*republican party*” in Congress meant the real friends of this country; but they have taken care to avoid leading us into this error, by calling Citizen Genet a *true republican*.

† Here they confess then, that the treaty with Louis XVI. *secured liberty to America*.

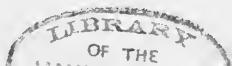
‡ Do you doubt of their gratitude? Hear them sing.

“ Fame let thy trumpet sound,

“ Tell all the world around,

“ How *Capet* fell; &c.”

“ 8. May



“ 8. May laws and *not proclamations*,* be the instruments by which free men shall be regulated.

“ 9. The persecuted Citizen Genet; may his country reward his honest zeal, and the shafts of *calumny* levelled against him, recoil upon the *Archers*.†

“ 10. May all men who aspire *to the supreme power* be brought below the level of their fellow citizens.

“ 11. The courageous and virtuous Mountain, may it crush the moderates, the traitors, the *federalists* and all Aristocrats, *under whatever denomination* they may be disguised.

“ 12. Success to the brave Republicans of *Louisiana*‡.

“ 13. Destruction to the enemies of the French Republic, both by Sea and Land.

“ 14. Henry Grattan, and the Opposition of Ireland.

“ 15. Citizens Fox and Stanhope, and the Opposition in England.”

“ 16. Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity—May they pervade the universe. Three cheers, and a salute of three guns.”

To these extracts I shall take the liberty of adding two others, both from the same Newspaper; one of them is an elegant account of the close of a Civic feast, and the other, though not absolutely on the same subject as the first, certainly adds to its beauty.

* The reader hardly wants to be told, that the President's Proclamation of Neutrality is meant here.

† The President of the United States was the archer that brought the Citizen from his lofty perch.

Reader, is it not rather surprising that Thomas Mifflin, Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, should assist at the drinking of these two toasts?

‡ These Republicans were a gang of brigands, committing robberies on the Spanish territories, and who were proscribed by proclamation.

The first is the precious jewel, and the last the foil; I shall therefore place them as near as possible to each other.

“ After this the Cap of Liberty was placed on the head of the President, then on each member. The *Marseillois* hymn and other similar songs were sung by different French citizen members. Thus cheerfully glided the hours away of this feast made by congenial souls to commemorate the happy day, when the sons of Frenchmen joined the sons of America to overthrow tyranny in this happy land.”

“ FOR SALE,

“ Two negro lads one about twelve and the other about fifteen years old—both remarkably healthy;—the youngest is near four feet nine inches high, and the oldest above five feet.—Also a negro wench for sale, coming eighteen years old, and far advanced with child—but very strong and capable of any kind of work.”!!!

Leaving this without comment, I shall add an extract or two from a debate of Congress, which I shall also leave without comment: such things scorn the aid of declamation.

The subject of the debate I allude to, was an amendment to a bill of Naturalization. A member from *Virginia* had proposed, that a clause should be inserted to exclude foreign noblemen from becoming citizens of the United States of America, unless they would first make a solemn *renunciation of their titles*. A member from New England proposed, as an amendment to this, that such noblemen should also renounce the right of *holding slaves*. On this amendment a member from *Carolina* said: “ That the gentleman *durst not* come forward, and tell the house, that men who *possessed slaves* were unfit for holding an office under a *Republican* government.—He desired the gentleman to consider what might be the consequence of this motion, at this time, considering what has happened in the West Indies.—His amendment would irritate the minds of thousands of *good citizens* in
“ the

“ the *southern States*, as it affects the *property* which
 “ they have acquired by their *industry*—He thought
 “ that the amendment partook more of *monarchical*
 “ *principles* than any thing which he had seen for
 “ some time.”*

A member from *Virginia* said on the same occasion, that, “ He held *property sacred*, and never
 “ could consent to prohibit the emigrant nobility
 “ *from having slaves* any more than other people ;
 “ but as for *titles of nobility* they were quite a dif-
 “ ferent thing.”†

Oh ! happy Carolina ! happy, thrice happy Virginia ! No tyrannical Aristocrat dares to lord it over the free born swains who cultivate the delicious weed, that adorns, first thy lovely fields and then the lovelier chops of the drivelling drunkard ! After having spent the day in singing hymns to the Goddess of Liberty, the virtuous Democrat gets him home to his peaceful dwelling, and sleeps with his *property* secure beneath his roof, yea, sometimes in his very *arms* ; and when his “ *industry*” has enhanced its value, it bears to a new owner the proofs of his democratic delicacy !

* It is not amiss to hear *Republicans* declare, that *monarchical principles* tend to *discountenance Slavery*. An opinion like this would surprise the partizans of citizens Stanhope and Fox.

† This gentleman's motion against titled foreigners has excited some curiosity, and still appears inexplicable to many, seeing that it was totally unnecessary : but, if we reflect, we shall find it is no more than natural. It is in the heart of man, reader, you must search for an explication of motions like this. When you go to take an airing in a carriage, do you not find, that every Drayman and Clodpole, you meet or overtake, thwarts you in your road as much as he can ? Does he not force creatures, much more humane and polite than himself, to stifle you with dust or cover you with mire ? Is it not a luxury to him, if he can upset your carriage and break your limbs ? You stare, and wonder what you have done to the malicious Boor. Alas ! you have done nothing to him ; all your fault is, having a carriage, while he has none.

What

What a difference between these happy States, and those vile aristocratical ones in Europe! There, as the poet says,

“ ————— a few agree
 “ To call it freedom, when *themselves* are free;
 “ A land of tyrants and a den of Slaves,
 “ Where wretches find dishonourable graves.”

This, I must confess, is a gloomy subject, and therefore we will, if you please, reader, return once again to the *Political Progress of Britain*; for change, they say, even of calamities, is cheerful.

Though the *encouragers* of this work might think that it would tend to deceive the ignorant, and add to the prejudice against Great Britain, yet they seem to have had another view, which perhaps the cudden of an author knew nothing of. The *Political Progress* professes to show “ *the ruinous consequences of taxation.*” And, indeed, this is the burden of the song; almost every paragraph closes with melancholy reflections on the consequence of *taxation*. The author even goes so far, in one place, as to declare, that “ *the slightest and most necessary taxes,*” “ are very destructive.” This it was that recommended the piece to the gentlemen who *encouraged* the author to publish it in America.

With respect to the expediency of taxation in general, it is not to my present purpose to say any thing about it; every one that is not already upon four legs, knows that he soon must be so without something of this kind: * what I wish to direct the reader’s attention to, is the real object of the publication in question. If then he will take the trouble to compare the above doctrine on taxation, with that held forth by the “ Western Brethren,” and

* May not this be the reason why our Democrats are continually crying out against taxes? I must confess, I think they would not look amiss upon all fours.

their relations in every quarter of the Union ; and if he will please to take notice of the time when the *Political Progress* was preparing for the press (the month of August last,) he will, I fancy, be of opinion with me, that the *encouragers* had the United States in their eye, much more than Great Britain. As if they had said : *look here, Americans, see what taxation has done in another country ; and, if you do not put a stop to it, if you do not resist it with all your might, it will certainly do the same in your own.* The national debt, taxes, &c. of Great Britain were well adapted to their purpose ; they knew, by themselves, that the bulk of readers were incapable of going into calculations of this kind ; of making just comparisons between this country and that : it was like reading the history of a giant to a pigmy.

Nobody can doubt, particularly if *country* be taken into the consideration, that the grinders and retailers of *Mundungus* were among the author's *encouragers*. I remember hearing a speaker of this honourable body, holding a talk to his brothers, in the month of May last, from the window of a certain State House. I shall not easily forget his saying, among many other things equally modest and unassuming, that *he* had told the *Secretary of the Treasury*, that if the *Mundungus* was taxed, "he " would be *damn'd* if ever *he forgave him*, while he " had an existence." His speech, though from the sample here given, it may be supposed to pass in ribaldry those of *Tom the Tinker*, or even *Tom the Devil*, had an a nazing effect upon the loons below, who were all watching with their jaws distended to catch, not the oracular, but the anarchical belches. When the resolve was put, it would have done your heart good to see and hear. What a forest of rusty hats and dirty paws were poked up
into

into the air in token of approbation of, “*no excise.*”

“ Jack Straw at London-Stone with all his rout,
“ Struck not the City with so loud a shout.”

But this had no effect ; and now they run about, stunning us

“ With many a deadly grunt and doleful squeak,
“ Poor swine, as if their pretty hearts would break.”

Compare the principles of the supporters of this talk, and those of their “ Western Brethren,” with the principles inculcated in *The Political Progress of Britain*, and see if they do not exactly tally ; if they do not all point to the same object ; that is to say, to the undermining of all government, and the destruction of the social system. Is it not fair then to conclude that *The Political Progress* was employed as an auxiliary in the laudable enterprise ?

If this was not its object, what was its object ? I would ask the lovers of their country, if such there are among the *encouragers* of this author, what good they could intend to render it by such a step ? I think they would be puzzled for an answer. Did they imagine, could they imagine, that his having narrowly escaped transportation in his own country, was a sufficient security for his being a most excellent citizen in this ? Because his book had been burnt by the hands of the common hangman in Scotland, did they imagine that it was calculated for the edification of the people of the United States ? That the author believed this to be the case is clear, otherwise he would not have introduced himself by exposing that which he certainly would have kept out of sight, if he had been appealing to reason or virtue, instead of prejudice and rascality.

To what a pitch must this unmeaning, this fruitless ill-nature against a foreign country be carried, if to be declared infamous there, is become a recommendation here! If a fellow, to usher himself into favour, must cry out: *Look ye, good folks, here's the mark of the halter about my neck yet!* If this be the case, we may as well adopt at once that famous decree of the Jacobin Club at Paris, which requires, as an essential qualification in each member, that he shall, previous to his admission, have committed some crime worthy of the gibbet! A regulation like this was very proper, and even necessary in a democratic club; and for that very reason, unnecessary and improper every where else.

The *Political Progress* is in politics, what mad Tom's *Age of Reason* is in religion, and they have both met with encouragement from some people here, from nearly the same motive. Had not the last mentioned piece been suppressed in England, there is every reason to believe, that it would never have rivalled the Bible among us, in so many families as it does. What a preposterous thing! People, who detest blasphemous publications, will tolerate, will read them, and put them into the hands of their children, because other people have declared them blasphemous! *Pope* would have said:

“ Thus Infidels the true believers quit,

“ And are but damn'd for having too much wit.”

Or rather too much malice.

To what deception, to what insulting quackery of all sorts has not this prejudice exposed us! A projector, (and, I think, like the Author of the *Political Progress*, of the Caledonian race) proposed, some time ago, to change the language of the country. He even went so far as to have his
scheme

scheme and proposals printed. As to the scheme itself, it consisted in the introduction of several new characters into the alphabet, and in changing the shape, or manner of writing, of some of the old ones. To give the reader as good an idea as he can possibly have, of the merits of this scheme, it will be sufficient to tell him, that the *i* was to be turned upside down, and the point placed under the line, thus *ı*. Ridiculous as this may seem, and much as the author may, in some people's opinion, appear to merit a cap and bells, yet we must, suppose, he knew whom he was making the proposal to. There is hardly any thing too gross for an appetite whetted by revenge. The *preface* to this coarse dish of flattery was a sharpening sauce, well calculated to make it go down. It was printed in the "*American Language*" (I go as far as "*barbarian*" types will permit me); but, for the benefit of the unlearned, the Author had the complaisance to give a translation of it on the opposite page. This *preface* set forth, as near as I can recollect, that the United States of America having, by a most successful and glorious war, shaken off the disgraceful yoke of British Bondage, they ought to endeavour by all *possible* means to obliterate the memory of having ever borne it; and, that nothing could be more conducive to the attainment of this desirable object than the disuse of a *barbarous* language, imposed on them by tyrants, and fit only for slaves, &c. &c.—I would advise the Author never to read this preface in a stable; the horses would certainly kick his brains out.

Some readers may imagine, perhaps, that this is all a joke; but I certainly saw the thing as I have described it, and in the hands of several persons too. It was in the month of October, 1793, that I saw it; it was in a small octavo volume, printed

at Philadelphia, and the Author's name, if I am not mistaken, *Thornton*.*

After this, who would wonder if some one were to tell us, that it is beneath republicans to eat, and that we ought to establish a system of French starvation, only because the English live by eating?

There is nothing that might not be received without surprise after the project of this Linguist, and therefore we may remember with less astonishment the notable project of that Democrat Brissot, for curing the *consumption*. He tells us,† that our women are more subject to the consumption than the men, “because they want (as they do in England) *a will or a civil existence*: the submission which women are habituated to, causes *obstructions*! deadens the vital principle, and impedes circulation.” As a remedy for this, he produces us, quack like, his infallible nostrum, *Liberty and Equality*! Gracious Heavens! Liberty and Equality to cure the consumption!

Yes, let him persuade us, if he can, that our wives and daughters die of the consumption, because they do not, like his execrably patriotic *concitoyennes*, change gallants as often as they do their *chemises*. If he could even convince us of the efficacy of his remedy, we should certainly reject it, as ten thousand million times worse than the disease. And you, ye fair Americans, are you ashamed to follow the bright example of your Mothers? Would you accept of Mr. Brissot's nostrum? No; you are too mild, too lovely, to become the tribune of a Democratic Club: your lilly hands were never made to wield a dagger: you want no rights, no power but what you possess: your empire is

* I have since obtained a copy. The account of the work is correct, as will be seen hereafter.

† See the 28th letter of his Travels in America.

much better guarded by a bosom of snow, than it would be by the rusty battered breast plates, worn by those terrible termagants, the “ heroines of Paris.”

When I said that *we* should certainly reject Mr. Brissot's remedy, I by no means meant to include the members of Democratic Societies and others of that stamp : because they are so diametrically opposite in their tastes, to the rest of mankind, that I question much whether they do not look upon a pair of antlers as an honourable mark of distinction. Nor is it impossible that many of them may really be decorated to their heart's content ; for, certain it is that the ladies do not bear them a very great affection. They imagine, and with reason, that the Democrats, in their rage for equality, may, one of these days, attempt to reduce them to a level with their sable “ *property*.” Besides, if they stood ever so fair in the opinion of the ladies, must not their gander-frolicks, and their squeezing, and hugging, and kissing one another, be expected to cause a good deal of pouting and jealousy ? And then, at the back of all this, comes their intriguing with that outlandish Goddess of Liberty ! This alone must inevitably wean them from their lawful connections : for, it is morally impossible, that one, who is admitted to clandestine familiarities with a Deity, should not disdain a poor thing in petticoats. La Fontaine has a verse which says, that a man can never bend his knees too often before his God and his Mistress ; but our Democrats have laid aside both God and Mistress, and have taken up with a strumpet of a Goddess, who receives the homage due to both.

Being upon this subject, it is hardly fair to omit mentioning a great and mighty Democrat, who is universally allowed to be a perfect platonist both in politics and love, and yet has the unconscionable

ambition to set up for a man of *gallantry*. He has taken it into his head to run dangling from one Boarding School to another, in order to acquire by the art of speechifying, a reputation for which nature seems to have disqualified him. My imagination cannot form to itself any thing more perfectly comic than to see a diminutive superannuated bachelor, cocked up upon a stool, and spouting out compliments to an assembly of young misses. Ah ! dear Plato ! take my word for it, if your reputation had been no higher among the Democrats than among the ladies, your name would never have found a place on their list. “ Phillis the fair, in the “ bloom of fifteen,” feels no more emotion at your fine speeches, than she would at the quavers of an Italian Singer : for, though they are both equally soft and smooth, there is a certain concatenation of ideas (do you understand me ?), which whispers her heart that all you have said, and all you can say, is not worth one broken sigh from blooming twenty-two. Hear what a brother Democrat says :*

“ Fût-il sorti de l'Épire, eût-il servi les Dieux,

“ Fût-il né du Trident, il languit s'il est vieux !”

This is a sorrowful truth ; but, take heart, citizen : all men are not made for all things ; if a man does not know how to play at cards, it is kind of him to hold the candle ; he that has no teeth, cannot crack nuts ; but that does not hinder him from preparing them for those who can.

Now, reader, suffer me to return, for the last time, to *The Political Progress of Britain* ; though I must confess it has acted only the part of an

* The Abbé de Lille, a renegado from the French clergy. This beautiful climax fell from his pen before he disgraced himself.

usher, it ought certainly to appear at the breaking up of the ball.

The Political Progress contains, among many other religiously patriotic things too numerous to mention, a *prophecy*,—not of the destruction of the Whore of Babylon and the “*personal reign* of “Jesus over the Unitarians,”* but of the destruction of the empire of Great Britain! This is certainly a most desirable event, and so absolutely necessary to *our* happiness, that every thing which has been said on the subject merits our attention. The Unitarian Doctor tells us, and in a sermon too, that his country must soon undergo a “purification,” or, as he calls it in another place, “the destruction of them that have destroyed the earth.” This opinion is a good deal strengthened by a volume of *dreams and predictions*, published at Philadelphia by a bookseller from North Britain, and the whole appears to be fully confirmed by this plain unqualified prophecy of the author of *The Political Progress*: “A Revolution will take place “in Scotland before the lapse of *ten years* at “farthest.”

If we want to know what sort of Revolution is here meant, we have only to look at the toasts drunk by the *republican* Britons at New York:—“A revolution in Great Britain and Ireland, upon “*sans culotte principles*—three cheers.”—But the long term of *ten years*, mentioned in the Prophecy of the Author of the *Political Progress*, has given a good deal of uneasiness to some of his zealous friends in this country. Ten years! ’tis an eternity! they thought the Woe-Trumpet had already sounded, and that the kingdom of Priestly’s *sans culotte* Heaven was at hand. As a proof that I do not advance this upon slight surmise, I beg leave to re-

* See Priestly’s Sermons.

mind the reader of what was said on the subject, in Congress, the other day, by that "true republican, "Citizen Maddison."* "If a Revolution," said he, "was to take place in Britain, which for my part I expect and believe will be the case, the "Peerage of that country will be thronging to the "United States. I shall be ready to receive them "with all that hospitality, respect and *tenderness* to "which misfortune is entitled. I shall *sympathize* "with them, and be as ready to afford them "whatever friendly offices lie in my power, as any "man." 'Tis a pity the poor devils are not apprized of all this. It would certainly be an act of humanity in our good Citizen to let them know what blessings he has in *store* for them: they seem attached to their Coronets and Coach-and-sixes at present; but were they informed that they can have as much homony and fat pork as they can gobble down (once every day of their lives), liberty to chew tobacco, and smoke all the week, and to ride out on the meeting-going mare on Sundays, it might tempt them to quit their baubles and their poor bit of an Island without a struggle, and fly to the free State of Virginia.

And do you really imagine, Sir, that you will see the Peerage of Great Britain come thronging round your habitation? Do you really promise yourselves the extatic delight of seeing them stand in need of your "sympathy, tenderness, hospitality

* This is the same citizen who amused the Legislature last year with a string of Resolutions, as long as my arm, about commercial restrictions with respect to Great Britain. They are now, and were then, called, by way of excellence, "Maddison's Resolutions;" but, though they caught like touchwood, touchwood like, they lay mouldering upon the table for nearly two months, without ever producing either light or heat. All the good they did, was to cost the Union about 20 or 30 thousand dollars in debates. O! rare Patriotism!

"and

“and good offices?” It is well enough for Dreamers and Fortune-tellers, from a baffled Unitarian from Birmingham, or a second-sighted Mumpre from the Isle of Skye to entertain us with such visions ; but for you, Sir, whom the populace calls “a damn’d Clever Fellow,” to become their dupe, is something amazing. If I am not mistaken, you observed the other day, that it was improper for Congress to meddle with the affairs of the Democratic Societies : and, is it not full as improper for one of its members to turn Soothsayer concerning the affairs of other nations ? And as for *Sympathy* and *tenderness*, Sir ; these things, though amiable in themselves, may sometimes appear ungraceful. Certain Legislators have very wisely observed, that liberty is not a bird of every climate ; nor is *tenderness*, Sir ; and though I do not absolutely aver that a Virginian Slave-Dealer cannot possess one grain of humanity, yet I confess when he talks to me of his *tenderness*, I can hardly forbear laughing.

Laying aside dreaming and soothsaying, what indications do we perceive of an approaching dissolution of the empire of Britain ? Has she lost an inch of territory, or has her enemy set a foot on any of her extensive dominions since the beginning of the war ? Is she not in possession of almost the whole Western Archipelago ? Are not her possessions increased to an amazing extent in the East-Indies ? Has she not more men and more cannon afloat than the whole world besides ; and is she not the undisputed Mistress of the Ocean ? For my part, the English are no favourites of mine ; I care very little if their Island were swallowed up by an Earthquake, as the Author of the *Political Progress* says ; but truth is truth, and let the Devil deny, if he can, that this is the truth.

Are these indications of weakness and distress ?
Are these indications of approaching dissolution ?

We

We are told the other day, by a Newsmonger whom I have already mentioned too often, that “ a verbal account, of the greatest authenticity, had confirmed the taking of Amsterdam by the French; and that, as soon as the *official* account came, the Editor would not fail to sing forth, in the loudest notes, this *last stroke* to the power of *Britain.*” Of Britain!! of the Dutch, he means; of our poor old friends the Dutch! And what have they done to us? The truth is, I believe, that the English would join us in rejoicing at such an event as this; that is to say when they have given the Hollanders time to carry all their treasures over to London. We pretend to laugh at John Bull; but I fancy that John is at this moment laughing in his sleeve at all the world. The baboon has been tearing himself to pieces, ’till he is no more a dangerous neighbour to John; and if he should now, in his mad pranks, give Nick Frog a snap, or even swallow him up (as he is very fond of such diet), it would only turn another grist to John’s mill: John, if I know any thing of his temper, wants no rival of any sort.*

Again, our Demagogues attempt to make our hair stand on end with the *subsidies* the English are paying to foreign princes; and have the ingenuity to draw an argument of their poverty from a circumstance, which, above all others, proves their riches, credit, and consequence. What does your experience say? If we go upon change, we see people buying bills upon London at three or four *per cent* above *par*; but if a fellow were to take it into his head to propose the negotiation of a bill on Paris, I much question if he would not get kicked out into the street. There is no friendship in trade. The exchange is no place for fraternizing. If I recollect right, the Secretary of State, in his report on the depredations on the commerce, &c. com-

* This prediction has been since fully verified.

plains that the French Convention had paid for certain cargoes of provisions in *Assignats*. In *Assignats*! Morbleu! what would you have? Are we not told, by every looby of a captain that arrives, that *Assignats* are at *par*? And, what is more, has not the Convention ordered them to be at *par*, on pain of the Guillotine? We have not, I think, heard any complaints against English Bank Notes: and yet *we know* the English to be upon the point of breaking. What sort of work is all this?

But we are told that there *must* be a revolution in England; for, that the people are all ripe for revolt. Where is the proof of this? Not in the conduct of their land or sea forces. At the beginning of the war, the Convention decreed, that the crew of every vessel captured from the English, should share in the prize. What good did the fraternizing speech of the Carmagnole Admiral do? I do not believe he found time to pronounce it. How did the crew of the *ship Grange* behave to Citizen Bompard, when he told them they were to share in the prize, and that they were not his prisoners, but his *brothers*? “No,” said they, “you French dog, we are none of your *brothers*.” Alas! I see nothing here that affords the least glimpse of hope. ———But the people are discontented, and complain of their taxes: ———where? in England? or here? ———But they have insurrections every year: —and every day too if we believe our Newspapers; it appears however, that there has been only one in England, of late years, and that was for the government, instead of against it. A troop of horse put an end to that insurrection; while fifteen thousand men were obliged to march to put an end to ours. But they have a dozen prisoners going to be tried for High Treason: ———and have we not more than two dozen going to be tried for the same offence? —O! but they have their Carmagnole Clubs, and their Stanhopes, and Foxes, and Sheridans: —yes, and, God confound them!

so have we to our sorrow ; and have them we shall, 'till we take the same method with them that the English have been taking with theirs, for some time past. Suppose Bradford, the Wat Tyler of the West, were to get over to London, and write a *Political Progress of America*, foretelling the dissolution of the Union ; would he not deserve a horse-whip in place of *encouragement* ? When the militia were called out, and cannon planted opposite the State House last May, to keep off a gang of insolent Sailors, were we apprehensive of a Revolution ? No ; but if our Democrats were to hear of such an event taking place in the neighbourhood of the British Parliament, I question but it might produce a Civic Feast.

Even suppose, that the accursed thing, called a Revolution, were to take place among the British ; what good would it do us ? Would it weaken their power ? That cannot be, because we say it has rendered the French stronger than ever. Would it destroy their credit, and starve them ? No, for our gazetes all assure us upon their words and honours, that the French treasury is running over, and that the people's bellies are ready to burst. Would it make them turn atheists and cannibals ? Yes, but then it is a good thing to cast off superstition and punish Aristocrats. In short, which ever way I turn the matter, we are, according to my simple judgment, upon a wrong scent. We are wishing for a revolution in England ! and for what, I would be glad to know ? To give the English a share of all the good things, eh ? No, no ; they are the exclusive property of our dear allies, and, in the name of God, let them keep them all to themselves. To be sure they have just given *us* a taste, but then, I hope we shall have too much sense to run about crying roast meat.

Let us open our eyes ; it is pretty near time, if we do not wish to be led blindfolded to the end of
the

the farce, and even after it is over.—How can it be our interest to give way to this moody temper towards a nation, with which, after all, our connexions are nearly as close as Man and Wife? I avoid the comparison of Mother and Child, for fear of affecting the nerves of some delicate constitutions. Because a war once existed between the two countries, is that a reason, that they should hate one another? They had their battle out; let them follow the good old custom, drink and shake hands, and not suffer themselves to be set together by the ears by a parcel of outlandish butchers. If the animosity were on the side of the British, they would have some excuse; it is almost impossible for the disappointed party not to retain some tincture of revenge; but for him who boasts of his victory to brood over his illnature, is, to say the best of it, very unamiable. That maxim in war; “a foe vanquished is a foe no more,” ought ever to operate with him who calls himself the vanquisher, and, I believe, we should be very loth to surrender that title.

The depredation on the commerce is now pleaded as the cause of all this ill-blood; but every man of candour will acknowledge that this is not the cause. The Newspapers teemed with abuse, the most unprovoked, unheard-of, infamous abuse against Great Britain, before a single American vessel had been stopped by the British. Do we find any thing of this kind in the English papers? Do the English publish to the world that they wish to see our constitution subverted? Have they a *Marat* to mark out the *President and his Wife* for the Guillotine!* Do their Governors, Magistrates,

* For, you must know, reader, *Marat* published what *Doctor Moor* calls “the bloody Journal.” The Editor of the *Philadelphia Gazette* will certainly think himself honoured by being compared to a person whom he has compared to *Jesus Christ*.

Military officers, &c. assemble with cannon firing, drums beating, and bells ringing to celebrate every little advantage gained over our troops by the Indians? Do they hoist the colours of our enemy, trample ours under their feet, and *even burn them?*

But say we, have we not a right to do as we please? Have we not a right to hate them? Yes; but do we expect them to love us for this? Do we imagine that revenge can find a place no where but in the breasts of Americans? Do we, because a set of fawning foreigners tell us we are the only virtuous people upon the face of the earth, possess the exclusive privilege of being systematically vindictive? Forgiveness of injuries is what we have a right to expect at the hands of all men; but love in return for hatred is what no mortal ought to expect from another; it is an effort beyond the power of human nature.

The publication of sentiments like these undoubtedly require an apology on the part of the Publisher; but I think, it is easily found. Many devout and sanctified christian Booksellers, indeed all of the trade in the United States, have assisted in distributing the AGE OF REASON; and not one of them has yet expressed the least remorse of conscience for so doing. Now, though it may be, and certainly is, a terrible thing to publish the name of Britain unconnected with execration, yet it is not much worse at most, than publishing a libel against God.

As for myself, reader, I most humbly beseech you to have the goodness to think of me—JUST WHAT YOU PLEASE.

END OF BONE TO GNAW, PT. I.

A KICK

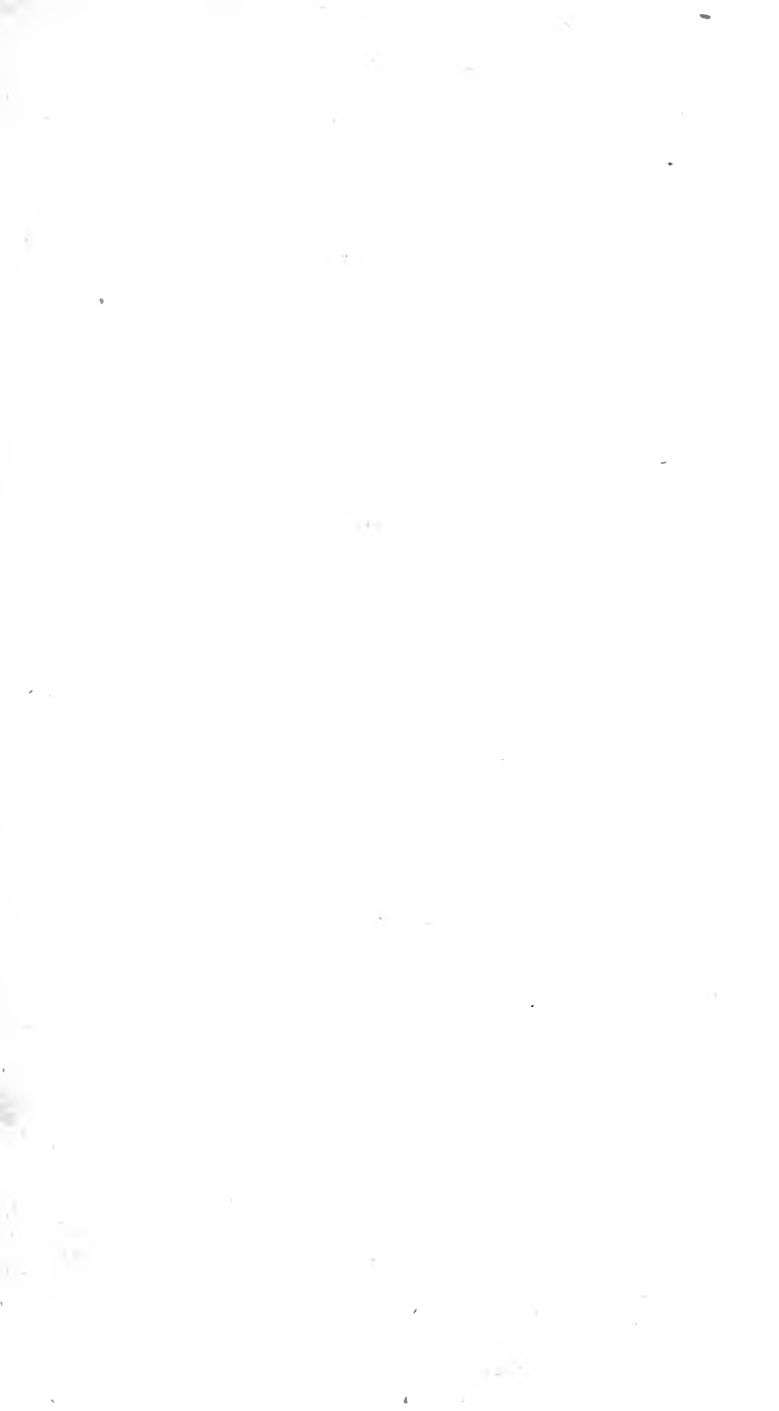
A

KICK FOR A BITE.

AT the time when the foregoing pamphlet was published, one *Smith*, a malignant Democrat, had just undertaken a periodical publication, which he entitled the "*American Monthly Review*," but which consisted, in reality, of nothing more than a selection from the London "*Monthly Review*."

In the second number of this work the Bone to Gnaw was reviewed, and this review gave rise to the following little rambling tract, which never would have been written but with a design of decrying the re-publication of a most detestable British publication.

The means that *Smith* employed to prevail on his countrymen to subscribe to his work is worth the notice of Englishmen. After stating many proofs of the true *republican* principles, inculcated by the London Monthly Review, he reminds them, that *the conductors of it contributed, in an eminent degree, to the success of the Glorious American Revolution*; that is, they were a set of most execrable traitors to their king and country, who carried their treasonable designs so artfully, that they never exposed themselves to punishment. What opinion must *Smith* entertain of the people, with whom he imagined that this circumstance would operate as a recommendation of his book? And what stupid or wicked wretches must those Britons be, who supported, and who still support, a work, the merit of which, in the opinion of foreigners, consists in its sworn enmity to their king and constitution.



TO THE
EDITOR, OR EDITORS;
OF THE
AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW.

IN addressing myself to you, on the present occasion, I feel a considerable embarrassment on account of your number. I do not mean the number of your shop, but the number of your person. From certain circumstances, which shall here be nameless, I was led to suppose you of the singular; but your review for February seems to contradict this supposition. However, whether you are one, and have only made use of the Plural pronoun *we*, and its correspondent *our*, in imitation of the style royal; or whether, like Legion you are really many, I hope no charge of impoliteness will be brought against me for addressing you as an individual; since it may be fairly presumed; that no more than one person can have been employed in the composition of one page, and since it is very clear, that there is but one page of original composition in all your Review.

Having settled this point of ceremony, I shall proceed to business, without delay.

After the appearance of your first number, I did not imagine that the work would ever contain any thing, with which an inhabitant of these regions

could have the least concern ; but it seems, the *Bone to Gnaw for the Democrats*, has awakened in you the dormant powers of criticism ; you have, at last, entered on the exercise of your censorian function, and the offending production has been summoned to your bar.

Of your opinion, or rather sentence, on this pamphlet, it is not my intention to say a single word ; the object of my letter is, to prove to you, yourself, that you are totally unqualified for judging of that, or any other literary performance ; and, if I succeed in this, a justification of the one in question will, of course, become unnecessary.

After stating what you imagine to be my motives in writing the *Bone to Gnaw*, you say :

“ Now, reader, what, think you, are *the means*
 “ which our author uses for compassing his ends ?
 “ Not a profound view of his subject, in the de-
 “ velopement of which he displays the logical ac-
 “ curacy of the expert politician—Not *by pouring*
 “ on you a flood of important information raised
 “ by laborious study. No—no—These are the
 “ common *methods* of producing coincidence of
 “ thought between writer and reader. This cir-
 “ cumstance, therefore, is a sufficient reason with
 “ him for spurning such *instruments* of conviction.
 “ He is no ordinary character—he will, therefore,
 “ have nothing to do with any thing that is
 “ ordinary (unless it be with the Democratic So-
 “ cieties and the author of the Political Progress).
 “ Well, but what *are the means*?——Simple
 “ *laughter*.”

Now, Sir, before you go any further, examine your own work here, paying particular attention to the words that I have distinguished by italicks.——What ? you can perceive no fault ? all is right, is it ? Well, now listen to me then, if you please.

You ask what are the *means* that the author uses,
 • and

and then you say, "Not a profound view of his subject"—"Not *by pouring* on you," &c. The first of these sentences has nothing in it that offends against the rules of grammar; but surely the same cannot be said of the second. *Pouring*, like every other gerund, may, sometimes, be looked upon as a substantive, but never, when immediately preceded by *by*. The first sentence indicates a *mean*, proper to be made use of for compassing his ends: viz. "A profound view of his subject." But, "*by pouring* on you, &c." indicates a *manner* in which he might have proceeded, and not a *mean* that he might have employed. Had you put the question thus: "How does the author compass his end?" It would have been very proper to answer: "Not *by pouring*, &c." but, having heard you ask about the *means* for compassing his ends, nobody expected to hear your answer contain the *manner* of compassing them.

We shall see this fault in its proper light, if we divest the sentences of all their adjuncts, and bring the accusatives close to their verb; thus: "Our author uses a profound view of his subject: our author uses *by pouring* on you a flood, &c." Is this sense? or is it nonsense?

You proceed. "These are the common *methods* of producing coincidence of thought between writer and reader." And then again, you say: "This is a sufficient reason with him for spurning such *instruments* of conviction." How is this, Sir? First you indicate the *means*, then those *means* become *methods*; and, by-and-by, those *methods* become *instruments*. You talk of my magical pen, but, without flattery, Sir, I think yours leaves it far, very far, behind. One may, with a very moderate share of ingenuity, place in a ridiculous light, things which have the essential of ridicule within themselves; but to turn *means* into *methods*, and

then to turn those *methods* into *instruments*, is, to say the least of it, a sort of literary legerdemain approaching very near to the supernatural.

It is easy to conceive that the *means*, made use of for compassing one's ends, may, by a very easy step towards figurative language, become *instruments*; but neither *means* nor *instruments* can, except by an effort of the hocus-pocus, ever become *methods*. An *instrument* or a mean, is the thing made use of; a *method* is the *manner* of making use of it. For instance, a right angle is formed by raising a perpendicular upon a right line: this is the *method* of forming a right angle; but the *instruments* made use of in the operation, are, the dividers, the ruler, and the pencil. "His *means*" (says Hume, in speaking of Henry the Eighth), "his *means* were sufficient, but his *method* was defective."

To almost any other person I should think it necessary to apologize for having said so much to explain a distinction, which, in fact, is self-evident; but, for one who has confounded the *means* of compassing a thing with the *method* of doing it, it is much to be feared that any explanation will prove too short. However, hoping the best, I shall come to the next sentence.

"He is no ordinary character—he will, therefore, have nothing to do with any thing that is ordinary (unless it be with the Democratic Societies and the author of the Political Progress)—"

In all the books you have ever read, Sir, (and I presume they are very numerous), did you ever see a parenthesis at the end of a period? I am inclined to think you never did; but whether you did or not, permit me to tell you it is extremely ungrammatical. And it is the more unpardonable in the present instance, as there was no occasion for a parenthesis at all: the exception, contained
in

in it, is by no means extraneous; it is a complete number of the period, and in my opinion, a very necessary one too.

But though I find great fault with this parenthesis, I cannot help commending the motive that induced you to employ it. You were anxious to get us back to your subject at a single jump; and, upon my soul it was high time; for you had led us a confounded jack-in-a-lanthorn dance. You had set out with asking what were the means the author employed for compassing his ends; but in place of going right on, you had wandered away quite through the author's own character, and were entering into that of his opponents; when your good genius twicked you by the elbow, and brought you back to where you first set out, with a, "Well, but what are the means?" And, I wish I could say, that your answer to this question was as correct, as the question itself was pertinent.

"Well but what *are* the *means*?—Simple *laughter*." And nothing else, Sir? Nothing but simple laughter? *Are* the *means* simple *laughter*? Why then, simple *laughter are* the *means*; and if it be good English to say, that simple *laughter are* the *means*, so it is to say, that a simple *Review are* the *books*.

You seem, my dear Sir, to be very anxious to scrape acquaintance with me; observe then; if you should see a person with one ear hanging down upon his cheek, like the ear of an old sow, that is PETER PORCUPINE, at your service.—For, you must know, when I was a little boy at school, this very self same phrase, "simple *laughter are* the *means*," happened to come blundering into my translation; for which the enraged brutal pedagogue (not Mr. Andrew Brown,) after having loaded me with half a score dunces and numskulls, seized me by the unfortunate ear, and swinging me in the
air,

air, as huntsmen do young hounds, to see if they are of the right breed, left me in the condition above described.

From the indignation that I cannot help expressing at this treatment, you may easily imagine, Mr. Reviewer, that I cannot wish to see the same happen to you.

Hitherto I have taken notice of grammatical errors only ; I am now to speak of one of another sort.

You could not content yourself, Sir, with plain language ; you must embellish this sample of your style with rhetorical figures ; but in doing this, you have not observed that scrupulous exactness, so very requisite in one who is a critic by profession, or rather by trade. You say : “ Not by *pouring* upon you “ a *flood* of important information, *raised* by laborious study.” I have often heard of *pouring* a *flood*, but of *raising* one I never did. We *raise* houses ; storms may be *raised* ; I can even conceive it possible to *raise* ghosts and devils ; but as to the *raising* of *floods*, I must beg to be excused. The water *rises* ; but whoever raises it, except it be from the bottom of a well ? At a first reading of the sentence, this idea forces itself upon one in such an irresistible manner, that for some time, it is impossible to get rid of it ; nor am I, even now, certain that it is not the one you meant to convey. In this case, the figure is not so much amiss ; but it is not supported quite so well as it might have been. By changing the word *laborious* for *windlass* of, the figure is rendered complete. Observe now :

“ Not by *pouring* upon you a *flood* of important information, *raised* by the *windlass* of “ study”.

Here, you see, the figure is supported : all is of a piece.

It

It may be further remarked upon this figure, that, as it appears by the context, you were pointing out the method of producing conviction in the reader, pouring a flood of information on him, is by no means a good one ; pouring a flood of information on an opponent may be a good method of overwhelming him : but we endeavour to enlighten the gentle reader, and not to overwhelm him with a deluge.

Indeed, the word *flood* is every way an improper one on this occasion, and its place may be so naturally supplied by the word *mass*, that were it not for the unlucky *pouring* which precedes it, one would be almost tempted to believe it a fault of the Printer. How much more natural does the figure appear, when amended thus : “ Not by placing “ before you a mass of important information, raised by laborious study”.

Upon this subject, Sir, I beg leave to observe to you, that, though tropes and figures are very useful things when they fall into skilful hands, they are very dangerous when they fall into those of a contrary description. When I see you flourishing with a metaphor, I feel as much anxiety as I do when I see a child playing with a razor.

Perhaps it would be better for you, to forego altogether the use of what are usually called bold figures. I am aware, that this would be an act of self-denial ; but, I think, I can promise you, that it would be fully compensated by the approbation of your readers. *Verecunda debet esse translatio*, was the precept of one who understood the use of figurative language better than you and I, Sir ; and he might have applied this precept to all other figures, as well as to the one here mentioned. Bold figures are sometimes graceful and every way becoming ; but in a cool *critique* none ought to be attempted, except such as tend to illustration ; such as light, without dazzling. The figure that
has

has taken up so much of our time, is so far from being of this description, that it absolutely throws an obscurity over the whole passage.

We will now descend to where you say, "but sometimes his *mirthful laughter* is sublimed into "a ferocious grin." *Mirthful laughter*, Sir, is, in point of propriety, equal to *sweet sugar* or *sour vinegar*. It is easy to perceive, that this expletive has been thrown in, to balance against *ferocious*; as I observe it is a rule with you, constantly to make one part of the sentence a counterpoise to the other. This is, by some, called the see-saw, and by others, the up-and-down, style, and it is said that the ladies, particularly the young ones, are remarkably fond of it. But, though pleasing to the fair sex ought to be a capital consideration with every one who puts pen to paper, yet it is certainly unseemingly in a grave Reviewer, to affect the silly lisping style of a writer of love letters. A downy chin covers a multitude of sins, which a grey beard serves only to expose.

One more fault and I have done; not for want of matter but for want of time.

"With due submission to the author of the "Bone to Gnaw for the Democrats, we do not think he ought to chastise so severely those gentlemen, since, in some respects, we trace a strong resemblance between him and his opponents. Fellow-feeling should have whispered the policy of exercising some mercy to HIM, who if he does not think like a Democrat, certainly writes very much like one."

Now, Sir, may I ask, to *whom* this mercy was to be exercised? You say, to *him*; but who is this *him*? The author? How is it possible that he should stand in need of mercy from the Democrats, when you complain that he has chastised those gentlemen too severely? And yet, this must be your meaning;

meaning ; for common charity forbids me to suppose, that you thought it necessary for him to have compassion on himself.

I have heard it suggested, that you might possibly mean to say, that fellow-feeling should have whispered *to him* the policy of exercising some mercy towards the Democrats ; but though this observation would have been very natural, after what had gone before, yet I cannot think that this was your meaning ; because, in that case, a different collocation would have been so necessary, and at the same time so easy, that you would not, you could not, have left the sentence in the questionable form it now wears. However, if this were your meaning, the transposing of two words, and changing of another would render the sentence not only perspicuous but even elegant ; thus :

“ *To him* fellow-feeling should have whispered some mercy ; for, if he does not think like a Democrat, he certainly writes very much like one.”

How clear is this, Sir ! Here is nothing obscure, nothing dubious ; while the sentence, as you left it, is, in spite of the typographical aid of commas and capitals, so completely equivocal, that I declare to heaven, I do not now, after the most attentive consideration, know precisely the sense in which you meant it should be taken.

Of all the faults a Reviewer can fall into with respect to style, this is most assuredly the greatest ; you write to convey your opinion to others, and, if the words you make use of for that purpose, are so ill-chosen, or so badly arranged, as to leave the reader in doubt with regard to that opinion, you may as well save yourself the trouble of writing and the expense of printing, and present the public with pages filled with pot-hooks and hangers. Indeed, perspicuity is so essential a quality in
every

every writer, that hardly any thing can make up for the want of it. I know but of one profession in which this equivocal round-about style can be cultivated and practised to advantage ; and, to confess a truth, I could hardly persuade myself, when I got to the end of the second paragraph of your *critique* that I was not reading a declaration drawn up against me by some second hand limb of the law, for an assault and battery on the bodies of Citizen Callender and his friends of the Democratic Club. Had this really been the case, I must have pleaded ; but as to your literary court, I deny its authority. And, though I have no very high opinion of your sagacity, I cannot help believing, that you must, by this time, have discovered your incapacity as a judge.

Now comes the agreeable part of my task. How pleasant is it to pass from censure to commendation ! It is like turning from the frowns of surly winter, to behold the smiling spring come dancing o'er the daisied lawn, crowned with garlands, and surrounded with melody. Yes, Sir, I cannot deny that there is one thing in your *critique* that has my entire approbation ; I mean its brevity. You seem to have been penetrated with the truth of that good old proverb : " Least said is soonest mended." We often say, that we cannot have too much of a good thing, but with much more truth may it be said, that we cannot have too little of a bad one ; and, upon this maxim, I must have more than the malice of the devil, not to approve of the brevity of the original composition contained in your Review.

But I am not every body, and, whether you as Editor of the work, will find it as easy a matter to satisfy your subscribers, on this score, is another thing. If they might be allowed to form some expectation concerning the work from the proposals

posals to which they subscribed, I should rather suppose that they must find themselves disappointed. You promised, if I recollect right, to give them the whole of the London Monthly Review, with the addition of a *critique* on the original works published in this country ; and for this reason, you called your work the "London Monthly Review *Enlarged*." How have you kept your word? Your first number contained only a *part* of the London Monthly Review, and not a single word on the American publications. Do you call this *enlarging*, Sir? It may be so, for aught I know, according to the new-fangled French mathematics ; but it resembles the old-fashioned way of abridging, as much as any thing I ever saw in my life.

If your first subscribers find themselves disappointed, what must be the mortification of a person, who now becomes a subscriber or a purchaser? What must be his surprise, what his indignation, when he opens his "American Monthly Review," and finds nothing but an old Monthly Review of books, one half of which are not, nor ever will be, published in America? It is a dish of no very exquisite taste at first hand, and when warmed up in your scullion-like manner, of an insipidity approaching to nauseousness.

As if determined not to do things by halves, you have made choice of the very worst of the British Reviews. The London Monthly Review has long been conducted at the expense of a faction. But, it appears, such were your ideas of our understandings, that you looked upon this circumstance as a recommendation of your work ; for you tell us that you have chosen this review, because its authors have ever been among the foremost in opposing the tyranny of the British government. Our prejudice has long been a milch cow for the adventuring tribe, and you, I suppose, had a mind to

to have a pull among the rest. What, in the name of common sense, has politics, and British politics above all others, to do with an American Literary Review? To me, this was as good as saying that your work would not be worth a farthing; I took you at your word, and you have by no means abused my confidence. Look at those bales of seditious nonsense that are daily distributed in all the lanes, alleys, cabins and kennels of this city, by those ministers of darkness whom Mr. Brown emphatically calls his *runners*, and then believe, if you can, that we stood in need of a factious Review.

But, whatever may be the merits or demerits of the London Review; with what propriety can it possibly assume the title of the "American Monthly Review?" Because it is reprinted here? If that be the case, the Political Progress of Britain should be called the Political Progress of America, and the history of Algiers should, by the same rule, be called the history of Pennsylvania.

Upon reading your review, one would certainly imagine that America was on the other side of the Atlantic, and that these States were an appendage to the empire. Indeed, from the tenor of the writings and discourse of all our most zealous patriots, a stranger would be naturally led to believe, that we were not an independent people, but the vassals of some foreign potentate.

There are not, you say, a sufficient number of original publications, in this country, to furnish matter for an entire monthly Review. Perhaps not, perhaps there may not be half enough; but is there any law that obliges you to publish the work? Must we have a Review, whether we want one or not? I have heard of towns and boroughs in England, that hold their charters by keeping a bull or a jack-ass constantly within its precincts: I hope
we

we have not in like manner, a Review entailed upon us and our posterity! If this be the case, I see little reason to boast of our liberty. I do not know how others may accommodate themselves to such a vexation, but, for my part, sooner than go through the drudgery of reading your Review, I would perform the hardest corvée that ever was imposed upon an unhappy vassal.

If there be no matter for a Review, it is a clear proof that we do not want one. Ay, but, say you, if you do not want to buy it, I want to sell it.—Very true; but do you imagine, that that reason will have the weight it ought to have with your fellow citizens? No, no, my dear Sir, it is with books as with every thing else, the backwardness of the buyer ever augments with the eagerness of the seller. You will say, that you must live, some how or other; to which I shall answer in the words of a French courtier, to whom a certain libellist addressed the same observation: “*Ma foi, je n'en vois pas la nécessité.*” Besides there are in this great city, many other employments, by which an industrious man may (without submitting to the humiliation of sending puff papers round the town, like a quack doctor) get a very decent livelihood. What should hinder you from keeping your horse, as well as another? And, as you are one of those who are for turning the world upside down, suppose you were to carry the horse, in place of the horse's carrying you? I can assure you, Sir, there is very good money earned at sawing wood; and I have, more than once, had serious thoughts of taking up the trade. When I see a line of honest fellows ranged round a wharf, with their horses mounted upon their back, I cannot help looking on them as so many hieroglyphicks of modern revolutions. They are a useful lesson to the thinking mind, and if the greatest part of our cock-horse gentlemen

were to serve their country in the same capacity, the sheriff and gaoler would have much less employment than they have at present.

However, it is possible that nature has not qualified you for a profession where bodily strength is the only requisite : if this be the case, you are unfortunate ; but there were yet other means left of getting a living, besides the labours of the brain. It does not follow that you must be a Hermes, merely because you are not a Hercules. The arms that are not made to wield a sledge hammer, may do wonders with a needle. At any rate, if you were determined to drive a quill, you might have confined yourself to your old vocation. Stay at home, my good Sir, and feed the flames of everlasting discord between John Doe and Richard Roe, and leave poor Callender and me to fight our own battles.

But, after all, allowing your Review to be a necessary, and consequently a laudable, undertaking, what excuse have you for having omitted to take notice of the voluminous productions of the celebrated *Mrs. Rowson* ? Sins of omission are ever inexpressible when a lady is in the case ; the fair do generally in the long run, pardon sins of commission, but those of omission they never do. Indeed, Sir, it was giving them but a pitiful idea of your gallantry, to slip by without casting a single glance at our American Sappho. At your age, when a lady tunes her lyre, he must be a snivelling devil of a critic whose bow remains unstrung. You had here the fairest opportunity in the world of ingratiating yourself with the whole tribe of female scribblers and politicians ; this opportunity you have neglected, and now, like poor silly Sir Andrew Ague Cheek, you are sailed into the north of their opinion, where you might hang for ever, like an icicle upon a Dutchman's beard, if I had no
more

more compassion for you, than you have shewn for me.

You will readily allow, that you have no reason to expect that I should release you from frozen durance ; but I like, now and then, to do good for evil, if it be only for novelty's sake ; and therefore, I have determined to thaw you into favour, by a *critique* on *Mrs. Rowson's* works, which I hereby permit you to insert in your next number, as your own. As this is all between ourselves, it will be your own fault if the truth be ever discovered ; and, at any rate, the piece will be as much yours, as any thing you have hitherto published.

Review on the roma-drama-poetic works of Mrs. S. Rowson, of the New Theatre, Philadelphia.

This lady somewhere mentions “ the unbounded “ marks of approbation,” with which her works have been received in this country. Whether this observation from the authoress was dictated by an extreme modesty, or by the overflowings of a grateful heart, is a matter of indifference ; the fact, I believe, will not be disputed, and therefore I cannot withhold my congratulations on the subject, either from the lady or my countrymen. It is hard to tell which is entitled to most praise on this occasion, she for the possession and exertion of such transcendent abilities, or they for having so judiciously bestowed on them “ their unbounded marks of approbation.”

It is the singular good fortune of these States to be the receptacle of all that is excellent of other nations : they sow and plant, while we gather the fruit. But, as the following elegant lines, on Mrs. Whitelock's last year's benefit, express my sentiments on this subject, much better than it

can possibly done in prose, I shall avail myself of their aid.

" From Albion's Isle, when *genius* takes *her* flight,
 " 'Tis ever sure on these blest shores to light :
 " Whether by party, or by *fancy driven*,
 " Here sure *it* finds an ever fostering Heav'n.
 " Here first *it* breathes invigorating air,
 " And learns to do whatever *man* should dare ;
 " Here among freemen lifts its *manly* voice,
 " And dreads no ills where all the world rejoice.
 " Here *Priestley* finds the rest he sought in vain,
 " And *Whitelock* meets applauding *crowds* again.*
 " In these *blest shades* no Lords or Despots sway,
 " But sons of freedom their own laws obey,
 " Distress of course is to the land unknown,
 " And guardian *Science* marks it for *her* own."

Yes ; and these lines are a proof of it. What charming ideas ! Genius *driven* by Fancy, all the way from some barn (dubbed with the name of Play-House) to the Land's end in Cornwall ; and then taking its flight, like one of Mother Carey's chickens, over the Atlantic Ocean, to America, where it finds a *fostering Heaven*. And how artfully has the author (or authoress) managed the personification of *genius* ! First it is a *her*, then an *it*, and by-and-by it acts like a *man*, and raises its *manly* voice. An author of ordinary merit would have confined himself to one gender only, or would, at most, have made an hermaphrodite of *genius* ; but in a land that " guardian science has marked for her own," that *genius* is not worth a curse, that is not masculine, feminine and neuter, all at once.

* A writer's thus coupling the Reverend Doctor with a Play Actress, may, to some folks, appear as absurd as it would be for a sportsman to couple a crusty old lurcher with a frisking spaniel : but it will be found upon reflection, that there is a much nearer affinity between their professions, than one would, at first sight, imagine.

If I were to indulge myself in a detail of all the particular beauties, in this little piece, I should never have done ; suffice it to say, that it yields to nothing of the kind extant ; except, perhaps, to some parts of Mrs. Rowson's incomparable Epilogue to that unparalleled play, the *Slaves in Algiers*.

I hope the reader will excuse this digression : in a labyrinth of sweets it is almost impossible not to lose one's way.

The necessary conciseness of this article forbids me to enter into a distinct analysis of each of this lady's performances ; I shall, therefore, content myself (and the reader too, I hope) with an extract or two from the *Slaves in Algiers* ; which, I think, may be looked upon as a criterion of her style and manner.

The lady asserts the superiority of her sex in the following spirited manner.

" But some few months since, my father (who sends out many corsairs,) brought home a *female captive*,* to whom I became greatly attached ; it was she who nourished in my mind the love of liberty, and taught me, woman was never formed to be the abject slave of *man*. Nature made us equal with *them*, and gave us the power to render ourselves superior."

This is at once an assertion and a proof. The authoress insists upon the superiority of her sex, and in so doing, she takes care to express herself in such a correct, nervous, and elegant style, as puts her own superiority, at least, out of all manner of doubt. Nor does she confine her ideas to a superiority in the *belles lettres* only, as will appear by the following lines from her epilogue :

" Women were born for universal sway,
" Men to adore, *be silent and obey*."

* Commonly called a *Woman*.

Sentiments like these could not be otherwise than well received in a country, where the authority of the wife is so unequivocally acknowledged, that the *reformers* of the *reformed church*, have been obliged (for fear of losing all their custom) to raze the odious word *obey* from their marriage service. I almost wonder they had not imposed it upon the husband; or rather, I wonder they had not dispensed with the ceremony altogether; for most of us know that in this enlightened age and country the work of generation goes hummingly on, whether people are married or not.

I do not know how it is, but I have strange misgivings hanging about my mind, that the whole moral as well as political world, is going to experience a revolution. Who knows but our present House of Representatives, for instance, may be succeeded by members of the other sex? What information might not the democrats, and grog-shop politicians expect from their communicative loquacity! I'll engage there would be no secrets then. If the speaker should happen to be with child that would be nothing odd to us, who have so long been accustomed to the sight;* and if she should even lie in, during the sessions, her place might be supplied by her aunt or grandmother.

I return from this digression to quote a sentence or two, in which our authoress speaks highly in praise of our alacrity in paying down the ransom for our unfortunate countrymen in Algiers.

“ But there are souls to whom the afflicted never
 “ cry in vain, who, to dry the widow's tear, or free
 “ the captive, would share their last possession.—
 “ *Blest spirits of philanthropy*, who inhabit my na-
 “ tive land, never will I doubt your friendship,

* In the person of Madam Muhlenberg.

“for sure I am, you never will neglect the
“wretched.”

This, you must know, gentle reader, is a figure of speech, that rhetoricians call a *strong hyperbole*, and that plain folks call a *d——d lie*, we will, therefore leave it, and come to her versification.

This is an art, in which the lady may be called passing excellent, as I flatter myself the following verses will prove. They are extracted from her Epilogue; where, after having rattled on for some time, with that air folâtre, so natural to her profession, she stops short with,

“But pray forgive this flippancy——indeed,
“Of all your clemency I stand in need.
“To own the truth, the scenes this night display’d,
“Are only fictions——drawn by fancy’s aid.
“’Tis what I wish——But we have cause to fear,
“No ray of comfort the sad bosom’s cheer,
“Of many a christian, shut from light and day,
“In bondage, languish their lives away.”

This is a little parterre of beauties.

It was kind of the authoress to tell her gentle audience, that her play was a *fiction*, otherwise they might have gone home in the full belief, that the American prisoners in Algiers had actually conquered the whole country, and taken the Dey prisoner. I confess there was a reason to fear that an audience, who had bestowed “unbounded marks
“of approbation” on such a piece, might fall into this error.

It was not enough to tell them that the subject of her play was a *fiction*, but she must tell them too, that it was a *fiction* drawn by *fancy’s aid*. This was necessary again; for they might have thought it was a *fiction*, drawn by the aid of *truth*.

“’Tis what I wish.”——What do you wish for, my dear lady? Do you wish *that your scenes may be fictions drawn by fancy’s aid*? Your words have no
other

other meaning than this ; and if you may have another you have not told us what it is.

Being shut from *light* is the same thing as being shut from *day*, and being shut from day is being *in bondage* ; either of these, then, would have been enough, if addressed to an audience of a common capacity.

Many a Christian's having a plurality of *bosoms* and *lives*, is an idea, that most assuredly bears in it all the true marks of originality.—The lady tells us somewhere, that she has never read the ancients : so much the better for us ; for if she had, she might have met with, “ *Prima solæcism fæditas absit,*” and then we had inevitably missed the charming idea, which is here the object of our admiration.*

I would now, reader, indulge you with an extract or two from this amiable authoress's romances ; but, as I am rather in haste,† I hope it will be sufficient to observe, that they are, in no respect, inferior to her poetic and “ dramatic efforts.”

Among the many treasures that the easterly winds have wafted us over, since our political emancipation, I cannot hesitate to declare this lady the most valuable. The inestimable works that she has showered (not to say *poured*, you know) upon us, mend not only our hearts, but if properly administered, our constitutions also : at least I can speak for myself. They are my *Materia Medica*, in a

* May we not, Mr. Reviewer, ascribe several of the beauties, to be found in your composition, to the same cause ?

Memorandum. This note is not to come into print. Take care about this, for Heaven's sake.

† The last Review was kept back nearly three weeks ; but, it is hoped, the subscribers will find the great quantity of original matter contained in it (almost a whole page) a sufficient compensation for the want of punctuality.

literal sense. A liquorish page from the *Fille de Chambre* serves me by way of a philtre, the *Inquisitor* is my opium, and I have ever found the *Slaves in Algiers* a most excellent emetic. As to *Mentoria* and *Charlotte*, it is hardly necessary to say what use they are put to in the chamber of the valetudinarian.

Before we were so happy as to have a *Rowson* amongst us, we were, or seemed to be, ignorant of our real consequence as a nation. We were modest enough to be content with thinking ourselves the only enlightened, virtuous, and happy people upon earth, without having any pretension to universal dominion; but she, like a second Juno, fires our souls with ambition, shows us our high destiny, bids us "soar aloft, and wave our *acknowledged* standard
" *o'er the world.*"

After this, it is not astonishing that she should be called the poetess laureat of the Sovereign People of the United States; it is more astonishing that there should be no salary attached to the title; for I am confident her dramatic works merit it much more than all the birth-day and new-year odes, ever addressed to her quondam king.

Notwithstanding all this, there are (and I am sorry to say it), some people, who doubt of her sincerity, and who pretend that her sudden conversion to republicanism, ought to make us look upon all her praises as ironical. But these uncandid people do not, or rather will not, recollect, what the miraculous air of America is capable of. I have heard whole cargoes of Imported Irish say (and swear too), that when they came within a few leagues of the coast, they began to feel a sort of regenerative spirit working within them, something like that which is supposed to work in the good honest methodist, when he imagines himself called from the lap-stone to go and hammer the pulpit. However, whether
our

our air do really possess this amazing virtue or not, there are certainly other causes sufficient to work a conversion in any heart, not entirely petrified by the frowns of despotism. Is not the sound of *Liberty*, glorious *Liberty*! heard to ring from one end of the continent to the other? Who dares print a book, or newspaper, without bespangling every page with this dear word in STARING CHARACTERS? Have not our sign-post daubers put it into the mouths of all the birds of the air and all the beasts of the field? What else is heard in the senate, the pulpit, the jail, the parlour, the kitchen, and the cradle? Do not our children squall out *Liberty*, as naturally as kittens mew; and do not their careful, tender, patriotic parents deck them out in national cockades, and learn them to sing "*dansons la carmagnole*," long before they learn them their A, B, C? In short, is there any thing to be seen, heard, or felt, but *Liberty*? Is it not through it we live, and move, and have our being? What great wonder is it then, that she, whose feelings are so "exquisitely fine," whose soul is like tinder, should catch the "heavenly flame that gilds the life of man?"

Let us reject the ungenerous insinuations of envy and malice; let us not damp a genius that promises such ample encouragement to our infant manufactories of ink and paper. That old cynic, Mr. Peachum, has said, that women bring custom to nobody but the hangman and the surgeon; and this might, in some measure, be true, if confined to that vile country, England; but when stretched across to us, it becomes absolutely false. Here, as Mrs. R. very elegantly observes, "virtue, heavenly virtue, in *either sex*, is the only mark of superiority." Under our virgin constellation frailty is unknown, lovers' vows are like the laws of the Medes and Persians, every marriage ring is equal to the *anneau* of Hans Carval, and even the Green Room,

Room, so long known for the temple of Venus, is here consecrated to the Goddess of the Silver Bow.

Long may the Theatre thus continue the school of politeness, innocence and every virtue. Long may "the Eagle suffer little birds to sing," and may their melodious caroling never be rendered discordant by the voice of the ominous cuckoo.

I should now, Sir, bid you adieu, as I am sensible I have taken up a great deal too much of your precious time; but I cannot help mentioning another article or two of Philadelphia press-work, which may, one of these days, come under a closer examination.

Have you observed, Sir, a delicate little work, entitled the *Litterary Miscellany*? The disinterested publisher is it seems, actuated by no earthly motive. except that of *enlightening* us; and, as bought wit is ever the best, he sells us this literary *bougie* (containing about a fiftieth part of a London Magazine) for elevenpence farthing. There is nothing original in this work, except the title page, in which the ingenuity and address of the publisher appears in a very advantageous light. He has not stuffed it up with fulsome nonsense about *Liberty* and *Americans*, and *Virtue*, &c. &c. No; he has just placed our *fifteen stars* in such a manner as to form an isosceles triangle, leaving us to pore and ponder over it with that self-complacency, which he knows will not fail to give it a favourable interpretation. This is a sort of pantomime flattery, which seldom fails of success; it is like a squeeze of the hand in making love.

I am sorry this citizen has not observed the same prudent taciturnity, in a publication that has lately made its appearance. He will find, perhaps, that a verbose, bombastical dedication is not less an object of ridicule because it is printed in capitals, and addressed to a Senator of the United States. There

is something of the Hibernian stamp on the very plan of this work, if it can be said to have a plan. It is a multifarious bundle, collected from the Newspapers, moulded up into a volume, and printed by *subscription*, and with *copy-right*. I wonder what bait citizen *Stevens* makes use of to catch all these political gudgeons. He tells us, he has "a thousand valuable secrets" to sell, but if this be of the number, I dare say, he will keep it to himself. As to the affair of securing the copy-right of a thing like this, it is a mere puff, to make people believe it has something original in it. In any other sense, it is like securing the copy-right of the Criss-cross-row.

Citizen Callender also has been kicking up a dust about copy-right, when he and the devil know, that a mangy mountaineer Laird was the real author of the *Political Progress*, and when (that is to say, if Callender can be believed) the pamphlet has been upon sale in *Newgate* for these two years past.

After all this citizen's huffing and puffing about the "large additions," that he was making to his work, he has, like you, produced us but one poor solitary page. As usual, the mountain in labour has brought forth a mouse.

Similarity of genius, like similarity of temper, is often the cement of friendship; at least, it seems to be so with citizen Callender and you. Your Review entertains us with his "manly perspicuity," and he pays you with interest in the *Philadelphia Gazette*. Malicious people say, that this is mere trucking in the way of trade; but, for my part, candour obliges me to declare, that I feel no reason to doubt the sincerity of our mutual admiration; for, as the French satirist says,

Un sot trouve toujours un plus sot qui l'admire.

With

With this, Sir, I take my leave, hoping that nothing that I have said, will tend to cool that zeal which you have shown for the advancement of Anti-Britannic literature. Write, write away, for the love of fun, 'till there is not a sheet of blank paper left in the whole State ; recollect only, that though patriots are permitted to talk nonsense with impunity in all other republics, they have not, nor ever will have, any such privilege in the Republic of Letters.

I am, yours, &c.

P. P.

March 6th, 1795.

END OF A KICK FOR A BITE.

A BONE TO GNAW

FOR THE

DEMOCRATS.

PART II.





A BONE TO GNAW

FOR THE

DEMOCRATS.

PART II.

SECT. I.

OBSERVATIONS ON A PATRIOTIC PAMPHLET, ENTITLED,
" PROCEEDINGS OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN."

I HAVE already observed, that this *patriotic pamphlet* is " a multifarious bundle, collected from the " Newspapers ; " * after which the reader will not expect me to enter into an examination of every part of it. A few cursory observations will be sufficient to point out the degree of compassion that the *United Irishmen* merit from the People of the United States, as well as the thanks that the editor is entitled to, for his disinterested endeavours in " the cause of civil and religious liberty."

The history of the *United Irishmen* will not detain us long. Soon after the ever-to-be-regretted epoch, when God, in his wrath, suffered the tinkers, butchers, harlequins, quacks, cut-throats, and other modern philosophers, to usurp the government of France, their brethren in Ireland,

* See a Kick for a Bite.

tempted by the successful example, began, with wonderful industry, to prepare for taking the government of that country into their hands. With this laudable end in view, they formed what they called their *society*, in the city of Dublin. To say in what manner they proceeded to business, would be superfluous, since we know they were Democrats. — Their meetings, as among us, produced resolves in abundance, and good fortune seemed for a time, to smile upon them. The press was suffocated with their addresses and letters of fraternity, which were swallowed by the mob, for whom they were intended, with an appetite which generally characterizes that class of citizens. But, all of a sudden, when they were in the height of their work, mangling the carcass of the government, the magistracy soused down upon them, like an eagle among a flock of carrion crows. Here was fine helter-skelter; fining, imprisoning, whipping and emigrating; some ran this way, others that; some came to America to brew whiskey, some went to France to gather laurels, while others of a more philosophical turn, set off to Botany Bay to cull simples.

Amidst all this bustle, it is very natural to suppose there was little time to think about securing the archives of the society, and it is to be feared, they would have been irrecoverably lost, if they had not already passed into the newspapers. To record, however, in a newspaper, is like writing in sand; the citizen editor of the Pamphlet before us, has, therefore, extracted the *proceedings of the United Irishmen* from so perishable a register, and moulded them up into a volume, which may very well take the name of the *sans culotte manual*, for I am much mistaken if it will ever be used any where but in the *temple of Cloacina*.

However, the conversation of these inestimable archives does not seem to be the only motive that

that led to their publication. It is difficult for people to wean themselves from the customs of their own country; accordingly, it would seem, that the citizen editor has, on the present occasion, been actuated by his predilection for an Irish custom, full as much as by his zeal "for the cause of civil and religious liberty," or his attachment to the society of *United Irishmen*.

You must know, reader, that, in good old Ireland, when a person of some distinction is to ride in state to his long home, the afflicted relations, not content with deploring the loss themselves (or having already exhausted their stock of lamentation,) do generally employ a number of auxiliary females, of approved organs, to assist them in the discharge of this last duty to the deceased. The business of these matrons is, to line the road through which the corpse is to pass, and to rend the welkin with that kind of warbling, which in their tongue is called the *Pillalloo*, and in ours, the *Irish Howl*. Now, ridiculous as this weeping by proxy may seem, we see that even philosophers have recourse to it, or something very like it, in desperate emergencies; for I am very much deceived if it be not in imitation of this custom that the *Proceedings of the United Irishmen* have made their appearance among us. The whiskey-boys and their partizans, the democrats, made their last-dying-speech and confession soon after the meeting of Congress, since when they have been turned off, without benefit of clergy, and citizen *Stephens* has been so obliging as to make his *United Irishmen* blubber out their *Pillalloo*.

So much for the motives that led the disinterested editor to publish this work; we will now take a look at the work itself, beginning with the title.

If the title page to this *pillalloo* be not a bad one,

it is not, in my opinion, so good a one as might have been chosen for it: *Newgate Calendar*, or something in that way, would have been much better suited to the contents: however, the *harp* with which it is decorated, expresses to those who understand heraldry, so nearly the same thing, that all the other hieroglyphicks are entirely useless. But, as if the editor were afraid that the *harp* was insufficient to indicate to us the blunderbuss materials of which the volume is composed, he has placed by the side of it a *liberty pole*, resembling, exactly, those made use of by the democratic sons of whiskey. Nor must the motto of the *harp* be forgotten: "It is new strung and shall be heard." It is impossible to read this gasconading motto without calling to mind the story of O'Rourke, who boasting that he had called king William a damned *teef*, for stealing the crown from his father-in-law, and being asked how it happened that the king did not chastise him for his impudence, answered: "By Jasas, man, and he must have had a long arm, for the sea was betwixt us."

"Music," says Congreve, "has charms to sooth a *savage breast*;" and if this be true, few people will doubt that the harp, or, at least some instrument, was necessary among the *United Irishmen*; and if a tune or two had been played, on a one stringed instrument over the hills and far away, last summer, it might have had a good effect; but let not the citizen editor think to treat *us* like savages; let him not think to make *us* dance round his liberty pole like sans culottes round their *arbre de la liberté*, or Mohawks round a roasting warrior. I am not in the hearts of my neighbours; I do not know but they may, for the sake of a soothing air, let him put a ring in their noses, or even tattaw them; but, for my part I beg to be excused: I
hate

hate and I abominate string music of every kind, and, above all the *Irish harp* and the *Scotch fiddle*.

From the title page let us descend to the *dedication*. This is the only part of the book which has been composed in this country, and a precious piece of eloquence it is. "*America! Virtue! Equality! Dignity of human nature!—Aristocracy!—Slavery!—Chains!*" The very cant of the philosophic, philanthropic murderers in France. What an artful and elegant disposition of characters also has the editor taken care to make! Without aiming at a pun, it may be said that this piece is as eloquent as it is possible for types to make it. If eloquence consisted in placing certain little pieces of lead in a row, citizen Stephens would be the Cicero of our days.

The citizen editor's having pitched on Mr. Pierce Butler for the godfather of his collection, has caused a good deal of mirth among those who have the advantage of being acquainted with that gentleman's political creed. To Mr. Butler's honour be it spoken, he was, perhaps, the very last person in the United States (except myself), to whom the *proceedings of the United Irishmen* should have been dedicated. By this mistake the editor has told us (an accident that too frequently happens with the sons and daughters of St. Patrick) precisely what he intended not to tell us: for he most assuredly did not intend to tell us, that he had the vanity to wish to be thought intimate with a descendant of the *noble* house of Ormond, and that, as yet, he knew nothing at all of him but the name.

I like to see the haughty advocates for democracy, whose cuckoo notes cease not to stun us with the *dignity of human nature*, catching at every twig of nobility or gentility that comes within their reach. One might have expected that *citizen* Stephens would have shunned Pierce Butler, *Esq.* by

instinct, as the noxious animals of Ireland are said to have shunned the serpent-killing Saint. If all men are equal, why prefer a senator of the United States to a dray, or wheel-barrow man? If an aristocrat like me were to address a well-larded epistle dedicatory to some man of family, it would not be so very astonishing; but to see a *sans culotte rampant* at the feet of the only person in the country, that boasts of having a drop of noble blood in his veins, is a phenomenon in politics that cannot fail of awakening in the beholder, a sentiment exactly the opposite to that of respect.

But, if there is something of the Irish turn in the manner in which this pamphlet has been introduced to the public, the work itself bears still stronger marks of its pedigree.

The ostensible object of the *United Irishmen*, like that of all other usurpers from the beginning of the world to the present day, was a *reformation* in the government of their country. To say much about a plan of reform proposed by a "band" of such obscure and illiterate persons as their proceedings prove them to be, would be paying ignorance too much attention, and would be, besides, in a great measure, superfluous, as we have already been favoured with the newest new constitution of a *sister* republic, of which that proposed by the *United Irishmen* was but a counterpart. I cannot however refrain from making mention of an argument they adduce in support of *universal suffrage*. This is the master wheel in the machine of reformation, as it transfers the power from the hand of the rich into the hands of the poor; all government mechanics do therefore make it a principle object of their attention; but those of Ireland have made use of an argument in its support that I never should have expected to hear; no, not even

even from them. "The poorest man in the land," say they, "pays taxes for his fire, his candle, his potatoes, and his cloathing; and *the poorer he is the greater occasion he has for a vote*, to protect that little he has, which is necessary, not to his qualification merely, but to his very existence." Now, unfortunately, for the system of these legislators, they have here kicked down the whole structure of mud that those disinterested philosophical politicians, Priestley and Price, whom they pretend to adore, had been so long in raising. *These* complained bitterly that an immense copyhold estate did not give a vote, while a beggarly tenement of forty shillings a year did give one, and that an insignificant borough sent as many members to the parliament as a rich mercantile town. But, according to the reasoning of the *United Irishmen*, all this is perfectly right; for, if a man's right to vote increases in proportion to his poverty, most certainly a little beggarly tenement must have a greater right to give a vote than an estate of a thousand a year. In vain would the *United Irishmen* plead their privilege of speaking twice; what they have advanced on this subject is too unequivocal to admit of explanations; what is just when applied to individuals, is also just when applied to communities, and, if what they say be true, *Old Sarum* whose *poor one house* has been the stumbling block of all the re-organizers of latter days, has much more right to send two members to parliament than the city of London, which contains above a hundred and forty thousand houses.

The reader will undoubtedly perceive, that the eagerness of this "*band*" (the citizen editor might have added a couple of syllables to this word, without going beyond the truth) to obtain a participation in the trade of law-giving, was to be no more than an introductory step towards a *participation* in something

something else: their great cause of discontent was, *they were poor, while some of their neighbours were rich*. This, If I may so express myself, is the Nile of revolutions. The hungry part of the French nobility and clergy effected a revolution, that they might share in the plunder of the rich, and for no other purpose whatever. *Mirabeau* was a gamester, and had been a bankrupt more than once: a well timed sop to this *Cerberus* would have left the French king in quiet possession of his arbitrary power. On what trifling events does the peace of nations sometimes depend; a pension, or a lucky hand at cards, might rid Billy Pitt of the barkings of patriots Fox and Sheridan; and who knows but something of the same kind might have prevented the manifestoes from Parkinson's ferry? "There is a *drug*," (said Sir Robert Walpole to the Gileses and Madisons of his day,) "There is a *drug*, that is to be found only at my *shop**, which "is a never failing cure for the fever of patriotism." If our treasurer had been as able a physician as Sir Robert; had he been used to administer this precious drug in the same emergencies, perhaps the world would never have been entertained with many of those farcical resolutions and speeches, which have sometimes rendered legislative debate a sort of burlesque dialogue.†

"Rebellions,"

* The Treasury.

† When Bradford, my bookseller, received this part of the manuscript from me, he requested, that every thing, which seemed to imply that the *American Patriots* were *bribable*, might be left out; "for," said he, "thank God, *we republicans* know "nothing of bribing as yet." Bradford, who was an old revolutionary Whig, that is, a rebel, was very unwilling, he said, that any thing should go from his press, which might *give America a bad character in Europe*. This remonstrance produced no effect, though Bradford persisted till I declared, that, if the pamphlet

“Rebellions,” says Swift, “ever travel from north to south; that is to say, from poverty to plenty.” The Dean knew mankind pretty well, but not better than his countrymen, the *United Irishmen*, as we shall see by their address to the poor. “To you,” say they, “the poorer classes of the community, we address ourselves. We are told you are *ignorant*; we wish you to enjoy *liberty*, without which no people was ever *enlightened*: we are told you are uneducated and immoral; we wish you to be educated, and your morality improved by the most rapid of all instructors; a good government. Do you find yourselves sunk into poverty and wretchedness? Examine peaceably and attentively the plan of reform we now submit to *you*. Consider, does it propose to do *you* justice? does it propose to give *you* sufficient protection? for we have no fear but that the *rich* will have justice done to them, and will be sufficiently protected.”—In another place, they tell their poor friends, that it is the “*unequal partition of rights*, that is the cause of their poverty, and that *makes them mob*.” It is thus that the ambitious troublers of mankind ever find their way to the hearts of the lower classes of the community. They flatter their natural inclination, which is ever to attribute their wants and misfortunes, which are usually no more than the lot of humanity, or the natural consequences of their own idleness or profligacy, to the errors or wickedness of those who rule over them.

By an *equal partition of rights*, there is not the

pamphlet were not published as it was written, I would cancel the edition, and take the work to somebody else. I have mentioned this objection of Bradford as an instance of the desire which every American, however stupid and vile he may be, has to hide the sins of his country, and to keep up the imposture, which the rebel race have so long practised on the world.

least doubt that the *United Irishmen* meant an equal partition of *property* : it would have been nonsense to talk about any other kind of rights to "the beggar on the bridge;" and, I believe, few people (I mean people of property) will blame the sensible part of the Irish nation for objecting to an equal partition of those rights. It is in vain for revolutionists to attempt any other explanation of the equal Rights of Man ; it must ever end, as in France, in the ruin of the rich, and its inevitable consequences, universal poverty. If such people were to speak the language of their hearts, they would not say to their rulers : " you are vicious " corrupt men ; you are the curses of your country." No ; they would say : " you are rich rogues while " we are poor ones, change situations, and all will " be right."

But, even admitting that a partition of property was not understood, that does not justify the address above cited. It is extremely dangerous to talk about an *equal partition* of any thing now a-days, and particularly in a country, where those who are called the people, are (for want of education, no doubt) supposed to have but very confused ideas of *mine* and *thine*. 'Tis true, we are told, that that " most rapid of all instructors, a good government," would educate them in a trice ; but, rapid as their progress might be, there is great reason to fear, that the partition might take place before their education could be finished, and then I leave any one to guess what a scratching and scrambling there would be. Besides, with these citizens' permission, may we not doubt that a good government is not so rapid an instructor, as they would make us believe ? I fancy nobody will say that our government is a bad one, and yet we do not perceive, that those of the lower classes of their countrymen, who do us the honour to come among us, improve

improve so rapidly as they pretend. There are hundreds (I am afraid I might add a cypher or two) of them in these States, who after a residence of several years, are no more able to distinguish between *mine* and *thine*, than they were the very first day of their landing. If any one can doubt of this, let him pay attention to the advertisements in the gazettes, and if he still remains unconvinced, let him go into the Courts of Oyer and Terminer.

This naturally leads us to another cause of discontent with the United Irishmen; namely, the Criminal Code of their country. "The spirit of "our laws," say they, "is aristocratic, and by no means calculated for the protection of the *poor*. To pass over the remarkable instances of the game laws and stamp act, we shall refer to a much more important system, our Criminal Code. If the lower classes of people had been represented in parliament, when their necessities first urged them to Insurrection and Outrage, parliament would have enquired into, and redressed their grievances, instead of making laws to punish them with death."

—"The acts, which are prohibited by *many* of our laws, are crimes: but the punishment inflicted by those laws are still greater crimes. The reason of this disproportion is, the rich man is never guilty of *sheep-stealing*, and the poor man has no one to plead his cause in the senate."—Delightful doctrine! It is a clear case, if the parliament were composed of *sheep-stealers*, sheep-stealing would be no crime; and it is for this very reason, that all those who have sheep, wish to keep them out of parliament. Oh! the unconscionable aristocrats, not to set the patriot wolves to guard their sheep! It was certainly very "aristocratic" also to make laws to punish poor fellows with death, for nothing but a little innocent amusement, called "Insurrection and Outrage!" No wonder they should hie away

away to the rest of the Alleghany mountains where (as they supposed) they might recreate themselves, without any apprehensions from the fatal fingers of Jack Catch, and the subsequent operations of those "flaying rascals the surgeons."

However, I must be permitted to say, that I cannot perceive the inconveniences of having such a parliament as is not ready to obey every mob, whose necessities may prick them on to insurrection and outrage; on the contrary, we have lately experienced the good effects of having an assembly of exactly the same description. Nor can I for my life see why a rich man is less fit for the business of making laws, merely because he is "never guilty of sheep-stealing." The United Irishmen have here spoken out plainer than any other club of democrats that I have yet heard of; their principles have, indeed, been acted upon to the fullest extent by the sheep-stealing law-givers whom they had fixed upon as their model; but neither the infamous Barrere, Robespierre, nor even Marat, ever had the impudence to avow them openly. In short, when we hear the United Irishmen whining about their criminal code, we cannot help calling to mind the well known story of their countryman and the justice. "Don't cry, my lad," said the magistrate, "you'll have justice done you." "Arrah, man," replied Pat, blubbering, "and that's all I'm afraid of."

The United Irishmen, after having displayed all their eloquence in vain to persuade their rich neighbours to consent to a partition, and to repeal the aristocratic laws that punish an honest fellow for sheep-stealing, threaten to leave them to themselves. "If a time of reform should not soon arrive," say they, "if this country should still remain abused and contented; there is a *world* elsewhere (I am afraid they mean here), to which he will go:
where

“ where freedom is, there is our country, and there shall be our home. Let this government take care : let them think of depopulation, and tremble. Who makes the rich? the *poor*.—Who makes the shuttle fly, and the plough cleave the furrows? the *poor*.—Should the poor emigrate, what will become of you, proud, powerful, silly men? Who will feed you when hungry, or clothe you when naked?” This is the language that wins the heart of king mob. What more than Hibernian front must a set of begging Philosophers have to insist that the *poor maintain the rich*! No : you dolts, it is not the poor who make the shuttle fly, and the plough cleave the furrows, but the rich. Ask your brother sans culotte in France, whether it was the rich or the poor. Here we have experience for our guide, and not your blunderheaded projects. There are no more rich in France, all property is annihilated ; and what are the consequences? The shuttle flies no more, and the people are without bread. From France, that country that sent such immense quantities of linens and woollens into this continent, to the islands, and to many other parts ; from France, that filled the world with its ribbons, its laces, its silks and embroidery ; from France they now write to *us* for *rags* to cover their bodies.

The emigrating menace* concludes with the following declaration, which would not be at all degraded in coming from the mouth of a trader to the coast of Guinea. “ Mankind, like other *commodities*, will follow the *demand* ; and, if depreciated here *below value*, will fly to a *better market*.” I

* It is worth while to observe here, that this terrible menace has not been able to persuade the Hibernian Hidalgos to pass any law to hinder their *supporters*, the poor, from emigrating.

I told the reader, I was afraid they meant America, when they talked about a "*a world elsewhere.*" I wish to heaven the greatest part of them would go to the other world rather than come here. They are right in calling it a *market*, but as to its being a better one for them than their own country, I must be suffered to doubt; for if they are of less *value* there than they are here, they are, alas! depreciated indeed. I have sometimes been surprised, that the traders to the Irish coast did not give their merchandize a different hue: by the help of a bushel or two of charcoal, and a few fleeces of black sheep's wool, a cargo might be raised from its depreciation. The planters in the Southern States might, indeed, object to this as an imposition (for, I have been assured, by a friend in Virginia, that a cargo of black boys is worth two of *white boys*, at any time); but every man has a right to do what he pleases with his own; and, besides, this practice might spare the blushes that redden (or that ought to redden) the cheeks of the advocates for Liberty and the "dignity of human nature," when they go on board to make acquisitions of this kind.

It would have been unpardonable in a society like that of the *United Irishmen*, if, among their numerous addresses, none was to be found to the firebrand philosopher, Priestley. "Farewell," say they, in their consolatory address to him, "farewell, great and good man!—Your change of place will give room for the matchless activity of your genius; and you will take a sublime pleasure in bestowing on Britain the benefit of your future discoveries." Every honest man ought to wish that this were true; for, the doctor has already made some discoveries of the utmost importance to future chemical emigrants, if he could be prevailed on to publish them. He might let his brethren
into

into the secret of buying land (or rather rock) at a dollar an acre, and selling it again at nine pence half-penny. This is a sort of anti-chemistry, by which copper is extracted from silver; and the process by which it is accomplished must certainly be a *desideratum* in the learned world. The doctor might also favour curious foreigners with the feats of those American Magi, vulgarly called land-surveyors, whose potent art levels the mountain with the valley, makes the rough way smooth, the crooked straight; whose creative pencil calls into being nodding woods and verdant lawns, and, like the rod of Moses, makes rivulets gush from the solid rock.

“Farewell,” continue the *United Irishmen*, “farewell, great and good man; but before you go, we beseech a portion of your parting prayer” (down upon your marrow bones, reader) “for Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Muir, Palmer, Margarot, and Gerald, who are now, like you, preparing to cross the bleak ocean.—Farewell! soon will you embrace your sons on the American shore; Washington will *take you by the hand*, and the *shade* of Franklin look *down*, with calm delight on the first statesman of the age, extending his *protection* to its first philosopher.” Here is certainly some mistake in the close of this farewell. What do they mean by the *shade* of Franklin’s looking *down*? To look *down* on a person one must be in an elevated situation, and, I fancy, it is pretty generally believed, by those who understand the geography of the invisible world, that Franklin’s *shade*, as it is here termed, has taken a different route. Indeed, this must be a *bull*; they certainly meant to say that Washington would *look down upon him*, and Franklin *take him by the hand*; at least, this would be nearer the truth; for sure I am, that Franklin will take him by the hand before the President of the United States will.—Oh! cruel disappointment!

Philosophy

Philosophy is in tears, and Unitarianism falls into hysterics at the thoughts of it ! Fame, blow it not forth ! Hush, babbling echo ! Dear *Æolus*, let no malicious breeze bear it to the land of roast beef !

The *United Irishmen* shed an abundance of crocodile tears over Doctor Priestley and his friends, Muir, Palmer, &c. and make out piteous stories about the tyranny of the British laws : but who will believe them ? Nobody, here, above the rank of a potatoe digger. The late trials for high treason, in England, furnish us with an example of integrity and impartiality in a court of justice that may be equalled, but that never has been yet. The Cbler acquitted, and the Peer condemned * ; (the latter a friend to the government, and the former its professed enemy) while it leaves us but very little room to doubt of the guilt of the Botany Bay convicts, reflects eternal honour on British jurisprudence. Indeed, all the beneficent effects of the British constitution are now felt in their full force ; never did it shine forth with such transcendant lustre as at this important and awful crisis. It was this constitution that first launched Britain from obscurity, that has since preserved her in so many perils, and that now bears her steadily through the revolutionary tempest, surrounded with the wrecks and ruins of her neighbours.

If the reader should be prevailed upon to allow, that some alteration was become necessary in this constitution, he will at once see, that the pretended reformers were the last people in the world in whose hands the business ought to have been trusted. For, had they possessed abilities adequate to the task, they never would have agreed among themselves. Every society, every projector had a different plan. Muir, the convict, was for an *Areopagus* in the Greek mode ; the *United Irishmen* paid

* I allude here to *Hardy* and *Lord Abingdon*, an account of whose trials the reader must have seen in the gazettes.

as the compliment of imitation, in some respects, and the French in others; Paine would insist upon *organizing* the whole *à la mode de Paris*, and in this he was joined by Horne Tooke. But William's plan caused the most mirth. He had the penetration to discover, that mankind by advancing in knowledge, grew foolisher and foolisher; for this reason he thought it necessary to give them a different direction, and, if his hand had not been held, he would have driven his countrymen back nine centuries at a single blow. In short, he was for reviving the Wittenagemot and Myclegemot of Alfred; and, accordingly, the eight millions of people who inhabit Great Britain, were to assemble every May-day under the great canopy of heaven, on Salisbury plain, to settle the affairs of the nation! Into what shocking absurdities will not a factious disposition lead the man that is cursed with it!

Shall *we* blame the British then, shall *we* call them tyrants and slaves, because they have driven from among them these disorganizing reformers, who agreed in nothing but destroying, in nothing but doing mischief; and who, had they been suffered to proceed, would, ere now, have spread atheism and terror through the land, filled it with bloody tribunals, prisons, and executions, reduced the happy island (the country of our forefathers) to a ruinous wild, and left the starving sons of equality the miserable liberty of prowling about among the graves of their benefactors? Shall we applaud, shall we hug to our bosoms, these political serpents, who by joining themselves to a desperate faction, would here revive their baffled projects, would here realize their schemes of equality? No; let America be what heaven seems to have designed it for, an asylum for the oppressed, but never let it be called the sanctuary of the infamous.

S E C T. II.

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES,

ILLUSTRATED BY EXAMPLE.

THE proceedings of the United Irishmen, like those of the American self-created societies, contain general accusations against every branch of the government. An advantageous distribution of the words *liberty*, *tyranny*, *slavery*, &c. does wonders with the populace; but the intelligent reader looks deeper, general accusations do not satisfy; he seeks for instances of oppression, before he will believe that a government is oppressive. Let us extract, then, the instances of oppression, complained of by the United Irishmen, from the bombastical rhapsody in which they are buried, and see to what they amount. They tell us that Butler, Bond, Rowan, and about four or five others, were detained some months in prison, and that Muir, Palmer and Margarot, with two or three more were transported; and all this (they say), for having done no more than what the good of their country dictated. I am sure the reader is very well satisfied, that these men were all guilty of the crimes laid to their charge; but to avoid disputation with respect to this fact, I shall suppose them all innocent, and then the sum total of the tyranny against which the United Irishmen exclaim, will amount to eight or
nine

nine false imprisonments, and five or six unjust sentences of transportation. This is certainly a great deal too much, may the hand be withered that ever wields a pen in its justification ! but, as the United Irishmen wished, as a mean of avoiding such acts of oppression in future, to overturn their monarchical government, and establish a democratic one in its stead, it becomes incumbent on the reader, who would not be their dupe, to contrast the conduct of the government which they wanted to overturn with that of the one they intended to adopt. They have represented the British government as being arrived at its last stage of tyranny, it will not then, I hope, be esteemed unfair, if I oppose to it the democratic Convention of France, when about the midway of its career.

It is not my intention to give a general character of this assembly ; that would be superfluous : nor will I give way to that indignation which every man, which is not by nature a slave, must feel at the very mention of such a divan. General charges against any man, or set of men, as they are very seldom accurate, so they are little attended to, particularly when addressed to a reader, who is rather inclined towards the party accused. For this reason, I shall confine myself to a particular epoch and even a particular spot. Lyons affords us the properest scene to be described on the present occasion ; not because the dreadful deeds committed there surpass those at Nantz, and many other places ; but because, taking place within a short space of time, they admit with more facility the form of a compact relation.

In the perusal of this relation the candid reader will make me some allowances ; my taste is far from the tragic ; scenes such as these must lose half their terrors when drawn by a hand like mine :

Melpomene alone should record the actions of the National Convention.

Some time after the death of Louis XVI. the city of Lyons was declared, by the Convention, in a state of revolt, it was attacked by a numerous army of Democrats, and, after having stood a siege of above two months, was obliged to surrender. What followed this surrender, it is my intention to relate; but first, it is necessary to go back to the causes that led to the revolt; for though no earthly crime could justify the cruelties inflicted upon the brave and unfortunate Lyonese, yet those cruelties do not appear in their deepest hue, till the pretended crimes of the sufferers are known.

By the new constitution of France the king could not be dethroned, unless found at the head of an army marching against his country. This was to be regarded as the highest crime he could possibly commit, and even for this he could be punished no otherwise than by being dethroned. "No crime whatever," says the constitution, "shall be construed to affect his life." This constitution every Frenchman had sworn, "to obey, and to maintain with all his might."—When, therefore, it was proposed to the Lyonese, by the emissaries of the National Convention, to petition for the death of the king, they replied almost with one voice: "No; we have sworn, with all France, to maintain the New Constitution with all our might; that Constitution declares that no crime whatsoever shall affect the life of the king. For any thing we have yet seen or heard, we believe him innocent of every crime that has been laid to his charge. The mode of his trial is unprecedented in the annals of injustice, the Convention being at once, accuser, evidence, and judge. We believe him perfectly innocent; but whether he be or not,

the

“ the Constitution that we have, by a solemn oath,
 “ bound ourselves to maintain with all our might,
 “ declares that no crime whatever shall be con-
 “ strued to affect his life ; that life, therefore, we
 “ cannot, we will not demand. The rest of the
 “ nation may sport with engagements which they
 “ have called the Almighty to witness, they may
 “ add the crime of assassination to that of perjury,
 “ they may stain themselves with the blood of
 “ their innocent and unfortunate prince, the Lyo-
 “ nese never will.”

Reader, you will hardly believe that this answer, so full of good sense, justice, piety, and honour, drew down on the gallant Lyonese the most dreadful chastisement, that ever was inflicted on any part of the human race. Read and be convinced.*

No sooner was the determination of the Lyonese made known to the Convention, than the latter began to concert schemes of vengeance. A numerous army was prepared, while the democratic agents of the Convention, who still had the executive authority at Lyons, spared no pains in endeavouring to drive the city to what they termed open rebellion, and thus to furnish a pretext for its destruction. The doctrine of equality, so flattering to those who possess nothing, had gained them many converts among the lower classes of the people. To these was committed all authority, civil and military, and it is hardly necessary to say that they exercised every species of tyranny that envy, revenge, and popular fury could invent. All this was borne with a degree of resignation that has been justly regarded as astonishing in people who have since exhibited such unequivocal proofs of inherent valour.

* The facts here related are taken from an authentic relation of the siege of Lyons; that they are by no means exaggerated, the public will very soon be convinced.

A sense of more immediate danger, however, roused them from their lethargy.

There was held, every night, a meeting of the leaders among the partizans of the Convention. It consisted, in general, of men of desperate fortunes, bankrupts, quacks, the dregs of the law, apostate priests, and the like, not forgetting some who had been released from the galleys. In this infamous assembly, which took the name of Democratic Club, a plot was laid for the assassination of all the rich in one night;* but this plot, notwithstanding the precautions of the conspirators, was happily discovered; the President Challier† and two others, were tried and condemned to die, the Democrats were driven from all the public offices, and the former magistrates reinstated.

This act of self preservation was called a revolt against the republic, and in consequence of it, the convention passed decree upon decree, bearing death and destruction against the Lyonese. Thus, those very men who had formed a constitution, which declares resistance against oppression to be a natural right, passed an act of proscription against a whole city, because they had dared to lift their hands to guard their throats against the knives of a band of assassins!

The city now began to arm for its defence; but being totally unprepared for a siege, having neither fortifications nor magazines, and being menaced on every side by myriads of ferocious enemies, the people were backward in declaring for hostility,

* This was their oath. "We swear to exterminate all the rich and aristocrats; their bloody corpses, thrown into the Rhone, shall bear our terrors to the affrighted sea."

† Thus Citizen *Challier* was every way qualified for the post of President of such a club. He was looked upon as a person of infamous character, before the revolution, and since the revolution, he had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own father!

knowing that, in that case, death or victory must be the consequence. There were, therefore, but about ten thousand men who had the courage to take up arms; but the desperate bravery of these amply made up for every want. During the space of sixty days they withstood an army of fifteen times their strength, plentifully provisioned, and provided with every instrument of destruction. Never, perhaps, were there such feats of valour performed as by this little army; thrice their numbers did they lay dead before their injured city.

The members deputed from the Convention to direct the attack, left nothing untried that might tend to the accomplishment of their object. They succeeded at last, in opening a communication with their partizans in the city, and in seducing many of the mob to espouse their interest. This was the more easy to effect, as the besieged were, by this time, upon the point of starving; the flesh of horses, dogs, and cats, had been for some days their only food, and even that began to grow extremely scarce. In this situation, without the least hopes of succour, some of those who wished well to their city, and who had not borne arms during the siege, undertook to capitulate with the enemy; but these, knowing the extremities to which they were driven, insisted upon executing the degrees of the Convention, which ordered them to put to death indiscriminately, all those who had taken up arms against its authority.

The besieged, then, seeing no hopes of a capitulation, seeing the city without another day's provision, and the total impossibility of succour from without (being completely invested on every side), had but one measure to adopt; to cut their way through their enemy, or fall in the attempt. A plan of retreat was therefore settled upon; the out posts

were to be called in, and the whole were to assemble at the Vaise.

In the mean time, the deputies from the Convention, who were informed by their spies of all that was passing in the city, took care to have the road by which the retreating army was to pass, well lined with troops. The whole country round was under arms. Every person was ordered, on pain of death, not to let pass, or give shelter to, a single Lyonese, man, woman, or child.

The out posts were hardly called in, when their stations were taken possession of by the democratic army. Being so closely pressed, rendered the assembling more difficult; all was bustle, confusion and terror. Not half of these who were under arms had time to join. A little corps was, however, at last formed. It consisted of between three and four thousand persons in all, headed by four field pieces, and followed by six waggons, bearing the wreck of many a splendid fortune. Thus marched off the remains of these generous defenders of their city, bidding an eternal adieu to the scenes of their youth, the dwellings of their ancestors; resolving to die bravely, as they had lived, or find an asylum in a foreign land.

It was midnight when they began their retreat, lighted by the blaze of bombs and burning houses. —Reader, cast your eyes on this devoted city. See children clinging to their fathers, distracted mothers to their sons; wives, holding in their arms what they held dearer than life, forgetting all but their husbands, marching by their side, and braving death from ten thousand hands!

They had hardly begun their march, when a discharge of artillery, bearing full upon them, threw them into some confusion. One of their waggons, in which were several old men and some children, was set on fire by a shell. Morning coming on, they

they perceived themselves beset on every side ; they were charged by the cavalry, exposed to the fire of a numerous artillery, harrassed at every turning, fired upon from every house, every bank and every hedge.—Seeing therefore, no hopes of escape, they were determined to sell every drop of blood as dear as possible. They broke off into platoons, putting their wives and children in the centre of each, and took different directions, in order to divide the force of the enemy. But what were they to do against fifty times their number? The whole, about fifty persons excepted, were either killed or taken.

The victors showed such mercy as might be expected from them : not content with butchering their prisoners in cold blood, they took a pleasure in making them die by inches, and insulting them in the pangs of death. Placing several together, they killed one of them at a time to render death more terrible to the rest.—Neither sex nor age had any weight with them ; above two hundred women, thirty of whom had children at the breast, whom conjugal love had led to follow their husbands ; more than fifty old men, whom filial piety had snatched from the assassin's stab, were all most savagely butchered. The death of Madame de Visague, deserves particular notice. This young lady was about seventeen years of age, and very near her time of delivery : a party of the Democrats found her behind a hedge to which place she had drawn her husband, who was mortally wounded. When the cannibals discovered her, she was on her knees supporting his head with her arm : one of them fired upon her with a carabine, another quartered her with his hanger, while a third held up the expiring husband to be a spectator of their more than hellish cruelty.

Several

Several wounded prisoners were collected together, and put into a ditch, with centinels placed round them to prevent them from killing themselves, or one another; and thus were they made to linger, some of them two or three days, while their enemies testified their ferocious pleasure by all the insulting gesticulations of savages.

Such was the fury of the triumphant Democrats, that the deputies from the Convention gave an order against burying the dead, 'till they had been cut in morsels. Tollet, the infamous Tollet, a democratic Priest (that is to say, an apostate) of Tre-voux, went, blood-hound like, in quest of a few unhappy wretches who had escaped the bloody 9th of October; and when, by perfidious promises, he had drawn them from their retreats, he delivered them up to the daggers of their assassins.

Of all the little army that attempted the retreat, only about forty-six escaped; six hundred and eighteen were brought back in chains; some of them died of their wounds, and all those who were not relieved from life this way, were dragged forth to an ignominious death.

During these dreadful scenes the deputies from the Convention, who were now absolute masters of the unfortunate city, were preparing others, if possible, still more dreadful. As a preliminary step, they re-organized the Democratic Society. To this infernal rendezvous the deputy *Javouges* repaired, and there broached his project in a speech, the substance of which was nearly as follows: After having represented *Challier* as a martyr in the cause of liberty, as the hero of the republic, and the avenger of the people, he addressed himself to the assembly in nearly these terms. "Think," said he, "of the slavery into which you
"are plunged by being the servants and workmen
"of others; the nobles, the priests, the proprietors,
"the

“ the rich of every description, have long been
“ in a combination to rob the democrats, the real
“ sans culotte republicans, of their birthright ; go,
“ citizens ; take what belongs to you, and what
“ you should have enjoyed long ago.—Nor must
“ you stop here, while there exists an aristocracy in
“ the buildings, half remains undone : down with
“ those edifices raised for the profit or pleasure of
“ the rich ; down with them all* : commerce and
“ arts are useless to a warlike people, and destruc-
“ tive of that sublime equality which France is
“ determined to spread over the whole globe.” He
told this enslaved, this degraded populace, that it
was the duty of every good citizen to discover all
those whom he knew to be guilty of having, in
thought, word, or deed, conspired against the re-
public. He exhorted them to fly to the offices
(opened for receiving such accusations,) and not
to spare one lawyer, priest, or nobleman. He
concluded this harangue, worthy of one of the
damned, with declaring, that for a man to accuse
his own father was an act of civism worthy a true
republican, and that to neglect it was a crime that
should be punished with death.

The deeds that followed this diabolic exhortation
were such as might be expected. The bloody ruf-
fians of democrats left not a house, not a hole un-

* A hundred houses were destroyed per day by order of the Convention. All the hospitals, the manufactories, &c. &c. were destroyed without exception. Before the revolution, that is to say, in 1789, this city contained above a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants ; it was the second town, with respect to population, in France, and the first manufacturing town in all Europe. It does not now contain seventy thousand inhabitants, and those are all reduced to beggary and ruin. As for trade, there is no such thing thought of. The last report of the Convention, respecting Lyons, declares the inhabitants without work or bread.

searched ; men and women were led forth from their houses with as little ceremony as cattle from their pens ; the square where the guillotine stood was reddened with blood, like a slaughter house, while the piercing cries of the surviving relations were drowned in the more vociferous howlings of *Vive la République !*

It is hard to stifle the voice of nature, to stagnate the involuntary movements of the soul ; yet this was attempted, and in some degree effected, by the deputies of the Convention. Perceiving that these scenes of blood had spread a gloom over the countenances of the innocent inhabitants, and that even some of their soldiers seemed touched with compunction, they issued a mandate, declaring every one suspected of aristocracy, who should discover the least symptoms of pity, either by his words or his looks !

The preamble of this mandate makes the blood run cold : “ By the thunder of God ! in the name “ of the representatives of the French people ; on “ pain of death, it is ordered,” &c. &c. Who would believe that this terrific mandate, forbidding men to weep, or look sorrowful, on pain of death, concluded with, *Vive la Liberté !* (Liberty for ever !) ? Who would believe that the people, who suffered this mandate to be stuck up about their city like a play bill, *had sworn to live free, or die ?*

However, in spite of all their menaces, they still found that remorse would sometimes follow the murder of a friend, or relation. Conscience is a troublesome guest to the villain who yet believes in an hereafter ; the deputies therefore, were resolved to banish this guest from the bosoms of their partizans, as it had already been banished from their own.

With this object in view they ordered a solemn
civic

*civic festival** in honour of Challier. His image was carried round the city, and placed in the churches. Those temples which had (many of them) for more than a thousand years, resounded with hosannas to the Supreme Being, were now profaned by the adorations paid to the image of a *parricide*.

All this was but a prelude to what was to follow the next day. It was Sunday, the day consecrated to the worship of our blessed Redeemer. A vast concourse of Democrats, men and women, assembled at a signal agreed on, formed themselves into a sort of a mock procession, preceded by the image of Challier, and followed by a little detached troop, each bearing in its hand a chalice, or some other vase of the church. One of these sacrilegious wretches led an ass, covered with a priest's vestment and with a mitre on his head. He was loaded with crucifixes and other symbols of the Christian religion, and had the old and new testament suspended to his tail. Arrived at the square called the Terreaux, they then threw the two *testaments*, the crucifixes, &c. into a fire prepared for the purpose; made the ass drink out of the sacramental cup,† and were proceeding to conclude their diabolical profanations with the massacre of all the prisoners, to appease the ghost of Challier, when a violent thunder storm put an end to their meet-

* If the reader has never seen a *civic festival*, and wishes to be fully informed about the *organization* of one, I refer him to the citizen democrats, who were of the committee of arrangement for the last *civic festival* that was held in the *city of brotherly love*.

† It will hardly be believed in Europe, that some of the *Ministers of the Gospel* at Boston, in New England, put up public thanksgiving for the successes of these wretches.—The fact is, however, well known, and shall be well proved before I have done.

ing, and deferred the work of death for a few hours.

The pause was not long. The deputies, profiting by the infamous frenzy with which they had inspired the soldiery and the mob, and by the consternation of the respectable inhabitants, continued their butchery with redoubled fury. Those who led the unhappy sufferers to execution were no longer ordered to confine themselves to such as were entered on the list of proscription, but were permitted to take whoever *they thought worthy of death!* To have an enemy among the democrats, to be rich, or even thought rich, was a sufficient crime. The words *nobleman, priest, lawyer, merchant*, and even *honest man*, were so many terms of proscription. Three times was the place of the guillotine changed, at every place holes were dug to receive the blood, and yet it ran in the gutters! the executioners were tired, and the deputies, enraged to see that their work went on so slowly, represented to the mob that they were *too merciful*, that vengeance lingered in their hands, and that their enemies ought to perish *in mass!**

Accordingly, next day, the execution *in mass* began. The prisoners were led out, from a hundred to three hundred at a time, into the out skirts of the city, where they were fired upon, or stabbed. One of these massacres deserves a particular notice. Two hundred and sixty nine persons,

* Let not the reader imagine that the Convention did not approve of all this. A deputation from the city went to Paris, represented at the bar of the Convention the devastation and carnage to which their city was a prey: but in place of being heard with that attention they deserved, they were thrown into a dungeon, and the Convention decreed that Lyons should be destroyed even to its very name, which was in future to be *Commune Affranchie*, and that a column should be erected to commemorate its having warred against *Liberty!*

taken indiscriminately among all classes and all ages, were led to *Brotteaux*, and there tied to trees. In this situation they were fired upon with grape shot. Here the *cannoneers of Valenciennes*, who had not had the courage to defend their own walls, who owed their forfeited lives to the mercy of royalists, valiantly pointed their cannons against them, when they found them bound hand and foot!——The coward is ever cruel.——Numbers of these unfortunate prisoners had only their limbs broken by the artillery; these were dispatched with the sword or the musket. The greatest part of the bodies were thrown into the Rhone, some of them before they were quite dead; two men in particular, had strength enough to swim to a sand bank in the river. One would have thought, that thus saved as it were by miracle, the vengeance of their enemies would have pursued them no farther; but, no sooner were they perceived, than a party of the *dragoons of Lorraine* crossed the arm of the river and stabbed them, and left them a prey to the fowls of the air.——Reader, fix your eyes on this theatre of carnage.——You barbarous, you ferocious monsters! You have found the heart to commit those bloody deeds, and shall no one have the heart to publish them in a country that boasts of an unbounded liberty of the press? Shall no one tell, with what pleasure you plunged your daggers into the defenceless breasts of those whose looks had often appalled your own coward hearts? Shall no one tell, with what heroic, what god-like constancy they met their fate? How they smiled at all your menaces and cannibal gesticulations? How they despised you in the very article of death? ——Strewed with every sweetest flower be the grave of *Mons. Chapuis de Maubourg*, and let his name be graven on every faithful heart! This gallant gentleman, who was counted one of the first engineers

engineers in Europe, fell into the hands of the democrats. They offered to spare his life, if he would serve in the armies of the Convention: they repeated this offer, with their carabines at his breast: "No," replied he, "I have never fought but for my God and my king; despicable cowards! fire away!"

The murder *in mass* did not rob the guillotine of its prey: there the blood flowed without interruption. Death itself was not a refuge from democratic fury. The bodies of the prisoners who were dead of their wounds, and of those who, not able to support the idea of ignominious death, had given themselves the fatal blow, were carried to the scaffold, and there beheaded, receiving thousands of kicks from the sans culottes, because the blood would not run from them. Persons from their sick beds, old men, not able to walk, and even women found in child bed, were carried to the murderous machine. The respectable Mons. Luras was torn from his family of ten children and his wife big with the eleventh. This distracted matron ran with her children, and threw herself at the feet of the brutal deputy Collot d'Herbois.—No mercy!—Her conjugal tenderness, the cries of her children, every thing calculated to soften the heart, presented themselves before him, but in vain. —"Take away" (said he, to the officious ruffians by whom he was surrounded), "take away the she rebel and her whelps."* Thus spurned from the

* The reader's indignation certainly will not be lessened, when he hears that this *Collot d'Herbois*, this arbiter of life and death, was, before the revolution, a—*player*! It is even said, that much of the blood shed at Lyons may be ascribed to his having, some years before, been hissed from the stage in that city. There are a hundred persons now in Philadelphia who have seen him in the character of Harlequin. Blessed revolution! that exposes a city of a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants to the wanton vengeance of a diverting vagabond!

presence of him who alone was able to save her beloved husband, she followed him to the place of execution. Her shrieks, when she saw him fall, joined to the wildness of her looks, but too plainly foretold her approaching end. She was seized with the pains of child birth, and was carried home to her house; but, as if her tormentors had shown her too much lenity, the sans culotte commissary soon after arrived, took possession of all the effects in the name of the sovereign people, drove her from her bed and her house, from the door of which she fell dead in the street.*

About three hundred women hoped, by their united prayers and tears, to touch the hearts of the ferocious deputies; but all their efforts were as vain as those of Madame Luras. They were threatened with a discharge of grape shot.—Two of them, who, notwithstanding the menaces of the democrats, still had the courage to persist, were tied during six hours to the posts of the guillotine; their own husbands were executed before their eyes, and their blood sprinkled over them!

Mademoiselle Servan, a lovely young woman of about eighteen years of age, was executed, because she would not discover the retreat of her father! “What!” (said she nobly, to the democratic committee) “What! betray my father! impious villains, how dare you suppose it?”†

Madam

* Citizen Benjamin Franklin Bache's gazette says, that “it would be an easy matter to apologize for all the murders committed in France;” let him apologize for this. Not that I imagine he cannot do it according to the democratic creed, but it would be curious to hear his apology. Doctor Priestley also says, that all these things are for the good of the Unitarian religion, and therefore, says he, “we must look upon them as a blessing!”

“Thus, if eternal justice rule the ball,

“Thus shall their wives, and thus their children fall.”

† Too much cannot be said in praise of the intrepidity of the

Madam Cochet, a lady equally famed for her beauty and her courage, was accused of having put the match to a cannon during the siege, and of having assisted in her husband's escape. She was condemned to suffer death; she declared herself with child, and the truth of this declaration was attested by two surgeons. In vain did she implore a respite, in vain did she plead the innocence of the child that was in her womb: her head was severed from her body amidst the death howl of the democratic Brigands.

Pause here, reader, and imagine if you can, another crime worthy of being added to those already mentioned.—Yes, there is one more, and hell would not have been satisfied, if its ministers had left it uncommitted. *Libidinous brutality!* *Javogues*, one of the deputies from the convention, opened the career. His example was followed by the soldiery and the mob in general. The wives and daughters of almost all the respectable inhabitants, particularly of such as had emigrated, or who were murdered, or in prison, were put in a state of requisition, and were ordered on pain of death, to hold their bodies (I spare the reader the term made use of in the decree) in readiness for the embraces of the true republicans! Nor were they content with violation: the first ladies of the city were led to the tree of Liberty (of Liberty!)

Romish priests. No terrors, no torments, could bring them to confess that they had done wrong in adhering to the Catholic church. They suffered death with a degree of cheerfulness that has never been surpassed.—Mr. Maupetit also deserves to be immortalized. He was taken prisoner during the siege; but he did not, like the paltroon Brutus, put an end to his life for fear of the scoffs of his enemies. He suffered himself to be buried alive, up to his neck, in which situation his head was mashed to pieces by four-pound balls, that his enemies tossed at it in derision; all which he endured without one plaintive accent.

and

and there made to take the hands of chimney-sweepers and common felons! Detestable wretches! At the very name of democrat, humanity shudders, and modesty hides its head!

I will not insult the reader's feelings by desiring him to compare the pretended tyranny of the British government with that I have here related; nor will I tell the United Irishmen, that even an Irish massacre is nothing compared to the exercise of the democratic laws of France; but I will ask them to produce me, if they can, an instance of such consummate tyranny in any government, or in any nation. Queen Mary of England, during a reign of five years, caused about 500 innocent persons to be put to death; for this, posterity has, very justly too, branded her with the surname of bloody. What surname, then, shall be given to the assembly that caused more than that number to be executed in one day, at Lyons? The massacre of St. Bartholomew, an event that filled all Europe with consternation, the infamy and horrors of which have been dwelt on by so many eloquent writers of all religions, and that has held Charles IX. up to the execration of ages, dwindles into child's play, when compared to the present murderous revolution, which a late writer in France emphatically calls "a St. Bartholomew of five years."* According to

* Charles IX. bigoted and bloody minded as he was, durst not attempt that tone of tyranny which has been assumed by the National Convention; there was some honour among the Frenchmen of those days. The governor of Bayonne having received the order for the massacre of the Protestants of that city, wrote to the king; "Sire, I have found in your city of Bayonne none but loyal subjects, and not a single cut-throat." At Lyons, the common hangman being ordered to enter a prison, and dispatch two or three protestants: "No," said he, "I am an executioner, but no murderer." Let any man produce me, if he can, a single instance of this kind among the re-

to Mons. Bousset, there were about 30,000 persons murdered, in all France, in the massacre of St. Bartholomew; there has been more than that number murdered in the single city of Lyons and its neighbourhood; at Nantz there have been 27,000; at Paris, 150,000; in La Vendée, 300,000*. In short, it appears that there have been two millions of persons murdered in France, since it has called itself a republic, among whom are reckoned two hundred and fifty thousand women, two hundred and thirty thousand children (besides those murdered in the womb), and twenty-four thousand Christian priests!

And is there, can there be, a faction in America so cruel, so bloody minded, as to wish to see these scenes repeated in their own, or any other country? If there be, Great God! do thou mete to them, ten fold, the measure they would mete to others; inflict on them every curse of which human nature is susceptible; hurl on them thy reddest thunderbolts; sweep the sanguinary race from the face of the creation!

publican French: let him tell me when a democrat has been known to refuse to shed blood. The common hangman at Lyons, when France was a monarchy, entertained a higher sense of honour than has yet been expressed by any member of the National Convention.

* This computation is taken from *les Détails des Cruautés des Jacobins*, lately published at Paris.

S E C T. III.

DEMOCRATIC MEMOIRS:

OR,

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME RECENT FEATS PERFORMED BY THE
FRENCHIFIED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

IF such, then, are the principles of those men, called Democrats, ought not every good man in this country to be very cautious how he gives them the least countenance? Ought he not to follow them in all their actions with an attentive eye, and let slip no opportunity of exposing their ambitious and destructive designs? For my part, I by no means desire to assume the dubious name of patriot; what I am doing, I conceive to be my duty; which consideration, as it will justify the undertaking, will in some measure apologize for the want of abilities that may appear in the execution.

Upon a view of the horrible revolution that at present agitates the world, we perceive that though the grand object of the democrats has been every where the same, yet their pretended motives have varied with their situation. In America, where the Federal Constitution had just been put in movement, and had begun to extend its beneficent effects, it was impossible to talk of *reformation*; at least it was impossible to make the people believe

it was necessary. The well known wisdom and integrity and the eminent services of the President, had engraven such an indelible attachment for his person on the hearts of *Americans*, that his reputation or his measures, could be touched but with a very delicate hand. A plan of indirect operations was therefore fixed upon ; and it must be allowed, that, by the help of a foreign agent, it was not badly combined. The outlines of this plan were, to extol to the skies every act of the boxing legislators of France ; to dazzle *those who have nothing* with the sublime system of “equality ;” to make occasional reflections on the resemblance between this government and that of Great Britain ; to condemn the British laws (and consequently our own at the same time) as aristocratic, and from thence to insinuate that “*something yet remained to be done ;*” and finally, to throw a veil over the insults and injuries received from France, represent all the actions of Great Britain in the most odious light, plunge us into a war with the latter, put us under the tutelage of the former, and recall the glorious times of violence and plunder. Thanks to government ; thanks to the steady conduct of the executive power, this abominable plan has been disconcerted ; the phalanx has been broken ; but it is nevertheless prudent to pursue the scattered remains, draw them from their caballing assemblies, and stretch them on the rack of public contempt.

For the advancement of the patriotic plan above mentioned, nothing could be more convenient than the assistance of those British emigrants, who, for want of sense, want of principle, or want of victuals, were ready to sell themselves to work evil. The reader has seen* to what advantage they turn-

* See the first part of the *Bone to Gnaw*.

ed the apostate paw of a mountaineer from Scotland, and he cannot but have observed what a considerable part these *persecuted emigrants* have borne in all the violent abuse that has been poured out against the Federal Government for two years past.* They are a set of under devils, as necessary to their chiefs as Wachum to Sidrophel, or Belzebub to Lucifer.

If men are to be judged of by the friendships they form, what must we think of our Democrats, when we hear them sighing for their friends, "the illustrious *citizens* sent to Botany Bay?" Never, I am sure, did *Leander* make louder lamentations for his love, than they for their *virtuous Muir*. It is to be regretted that they possess the whining part only of Leander's character; how happy should we be, if they would but rush into the sea as he did into the Hellespont! However, if the treaty with Great Britain should bring us an inch of territory in New Holland (a thing that would prove the providential care of government), some of them may yet meet their long lost friend, without acting the part of despairing lovers.

A company of our countrymen (who undoubtedly do us a great deal of honour), assembled some time ago to pass compliments on their own patriotism and bravery, thought it but just to do the same by their friends all over the world, and particularly to the "*Botany Bay convicts*, the *French sans culottes*, and the *Governor of the State of Pennsylvania*." Heavens defend us! What a groupe!

† Not to go far back for an example, let the reader consult the Philadelphia Gazette of 16th May, 1795, and he will there find a piece intended to stir up the lower orders of the people of this city to oppose the measures of the corporation; let him compare this piece with the *introduction* to the *Political Progress of Britain*, and he will easily perceive that they are both from the same *foreign* hand.

You will hardly imagine, reader, that our good governor was present, and bore all this as patiently as a lamb. Mind me, I do not say that he was present, but that I was informed so by the Philadelphia Gazette. Indeed no one can believe it; it is absolutely impossible that he should sit quietly, and hear himself clubbed with convicts and common stabbers, and even *assist in seeing his own victories*, like Alexander the great among his parasitical peers.

“Sooth’d with the sound, the —— grew vain,
 “Fought all his battles o’er again,
 “And thrice he routed all his foes,
 “And thrice he slew the slain.”

No, no; what must a foreigner think if he were to hear it said that his *Excellency* was seen boozing in a beer house* with a squad of serjeants and corporals, and drinking like fury to a cargo of convicts? What must a foreigner think if he were to hear a governor of a State, one day recommending to the legislature, in the most pressing manner, to soften the *penal code*, and the next drinking to the criminals of other nations? Would he not naturally conclude that——but stop; the conclusion is so evident, that I will not insult the penetration of the reader by giving it a place here.

No, no; I will never believe that our wise and good, and prudent and sober Governor was ever seen in such company. Slander, shut up thy infamous jaws, I will not hear thee!

* It is an honour to the French nation, that, among all their vices, the beastly one of getting drunk is not to be numbered. I wish those among us, who have the laudable ambition of being thought their bastards, would imitate them in this respect, rather than in dancing after them round the altar of liberty. They should recollect that spewing out drunken toasts is a custom purely English.

One company of these *amateurs* of convicts seemed to me extremely reasonable. "The illustrious *citizens* sent to Botany Bay," say they, "may *they regenerate* that unhappy country." Let it no longer be said, that I never approve of democratic toasts (I beg their pardon, the one before us is called a *sentiment*), for I do most heartily approve of this. Perhaps there never was a society that stood more in need of regeneration. Let them, in the name of goodness, have a little revolution among themselves; no harm whatever can come of it, and much good may, if they have any citizen among them ingenious enough to make a guillotine.

In case of a change of this kind, the New Hollanders would have a considerable advantage over the poor French; for, being already as infamous as it is possible for the devil to make them, they will stand in no need of a national assembly to *enlighten* them by degrees, or of a Convention to put a finishing stroke to their education. Citizen Muir and his colleagues might set the *sheep-stealing* legislation a-going without any kind of ceremony. A republic, one and indivisible, and founded upon the broad basis of equality, would be more likely to acquire stability at Botany Bay than in any other State in the world; because the nimble fingers of the citizens would necessarily keep up a continual shifting of property, and so prevent that unconscionable hording which is the first foundation of aristocracy.

"There *knaves* in *novel systems* bold,
 "More fabulous than Greeks of old,
 "Shall *civic garlands* shed;
 "Devoid of virtue, wealth or fame,
 "Decree a more than Spartan name
 "To those who *thieves were bred*."

"There

" There enterprise shall never roam,
 " But idleness, benumb'd at home,
 " Shall know nor ship nor sailor ;
 " There all shall walk with naked breech,
 " And all the poor (and who'll be rich ?)
 " Have nature for their taylor."

" There it shall be each *patriot's* lot,
 " To pay *no tax* for farm or cot,
 " But in all sorts of weather ;
 " Like Indians wand'ring up and down,
 " Each night at dusk *scratch* out of town
 " To snore and stink together."

Happy state ! Would to heaven every democrat in the universe were there !

Disagreeable company as these convicts and their admirers are, I cannot quit them without another observation or two.

Their crime was, attempting to overturn the government of their country. This they denied (before the courts of justice), but can we believe them ? Muir and his associates were tried and found guilty according to the ordinary forms of law ; and let it be remembered too, that it was in Scotland they were found guilty, a country in which the people are more moral, more conscientious, and more scrupulous with respect to oaths, than in any other in the world. But, let us judge a little for ourselves. Muir was in France long after the beginning of the war ;* he was caressed by the National Convention, and suffered to remain in liberty, and even to return to England,

* Imagine, reader, if you can, what this reformer went to France for.—No, you cannot. It was, dear reader, to endeavour to persuade the Convention to spare the life of Louis XVI ! Oh dear ! Oh, dear ! Compassionate soul ! And who sent him, do you think ? Those very fellows that wanted to see George's head in a basket ! Oh, the tender hearted chickens ! It was a pity the Convention did not pay as much attention to citizen Muir's softening solicitations as they did to his person.

while the rest of the English, men, women, and children, were thrown into prison; and after his condemnation, a French vessel was stationed at sea to rescue him from the hands of justice. How came the convention to shew so much anxiety about an individual of a nation which (if they should live long enough) they are determined to annihilate? Master Rowan also escaped to France. Why to France? where, as *a friend* to his country, he could expect nothing but a dungeon? It appears that he was at first taken into custody: but as soon as he produced his brevet of infamy (I mean his certificate from his society), he received the fraternal hug of all the cut-throats in Paris.

If we could for a moment suppose these convicts innocent, we should place the Democrats in this country in a more ridiculous situation than ever. For if they were innocent, they were yet good royalists, while the Democrats admire them for their being true Republicans! The stupid inconsistency of these clubs has long been notorious, but in no one instance has it appeared in a stronger light than in the present. They howl over the convicts as innocent sufferers, while they applaud them for the crime for which they have suffered.

I do not know whether there were any of the United Irishmen, or their retainers, at the last St. Patrick's feast, in this city; but I know they that drank to the memory of "Brutus and Franklin (a pretty couple), to the Society of the United Irishmen, to the French, and to their speedy ar-rival in Ireland." After this, I think it would be cruel to doubt of the patriotism of the United Irishmen, and their attachment to the British Constitution.

In these toasting times it would have been something wonderful if the *sans culottes* in America had neglected

neglected to celebrate the taking of Amsterdam by their brethren in France. I believe from my soul there has been more cannons fired here in the celebration of this conquest, than the French fired in atchieving it. I think I have counted twenty-two grand civic festivals, fifty-one of an inferior order, and one hundred and ninety-three public dinners; at all which, I imagine, there might be nearly thirty thousand people; and, as twenty thousand of them, or thereabouts, must have been married men, it is reasonable to suppose that eighteen or nineteen thousand women with their children were at home wanting bread, while their husbands were getting drunk at a civic feast.

There is in general such a sameness in those feasts, that it would be tiring the reader to describe them; and it would, besides, be anticipating what I intend to treat more at large, as soon as my materials for the purpose are collected.* The grand civic festival at Reading (Massachusetts), however,

* This work, which is to be entitled the *Sans Culotte's Vade Mecum*, is to contain an account of all the civic festivals, patriotic dinners, toasts, fraternal hugs, speeches and replies (some in broken French and some in broken English), tears shed when the Democrats have been crying drunk, benedictions on the French and execrations on the English; together with a full and true account of the Duke of York's being sent to Paris in an iron cage; of the king of Sardinia and his two sons being put into the same prison with the Dauphin, and of the fifteen descents that the sans culottes have made in England, with the exact number of men, women, and children, they have devoured each time. This valuable work is to be comprised in one quarto volume, to be decorated with an elegant frontispiece (by an American artist) representing Le Gendre drubbing Leonard Bourdon and Co. in the National Convention, on 7th of March, 1795.

As the whole is to be a collection from the *Philadelphia Gazette* and the *Aurora*, I intend publishing it by subscription according to the laudable example of citizen Stephens, and I do hereby forbid all persons to publish the said work, as I have taken measures for securing the copy-right.

deserves

deserves a particular mention, as it approaches nearer to a real French civic feast than any thing I have yet heard of in this country.

“ The day was ushered in by the ringing of the bells, and a salute of fifteen discharges from a field piece. The American flag waved in the wind, and the flag of France *over the British in inverted order*.* At noon a large number of *respectable* citizens assembled at citizen Rayner’s, and partook of an elegant entertainment—after dinner Capt. Emerson’s military company in uniform, assembled, and escorted the citizens to the (grog-shop, I suppose, you think ?) to the *meeting house*!! where an address, pertinent to the occasion, was delivered by the *Reverend citizen Prentiss*, and united prayers and praises were offered to God, and several hymns and anthems were well sung; after which they returned in procession to citizen Rayner’s, when three farmers with their frocks and utensils, and with a tree on their shoulders, were escorted by the military company, formed in a hollow square, to the common, where the tree was planted in form, as an emblem of freedom, and the Marseillois hymn was sung by a choir within a circle round the tree. Major Bondman (you know what sort of captains and majors these are, reader!), by request, superintended the business of the day, and directed the manœuvres.”

These manœuvres were very curious to be sure, particularly that of the Reverend citizen Prentiss, putting up a long snuffing prayer for the successes of the French Atheists! A pretty minister truly! There was nothing wanted to complete this feast

* And yet, those unreasonable dogs, the English, pretend that our neutrality is not sincere.

but to burn the Bible, and massacre the honest inhabitants of the town.—And are these the children of those men who fled from their native country to a desert, rather than deviate from what they conceived to be the true principles of the gospel? Are they such men as Prentiss, to whom the people of Massachusetts commit the education of their children and the care of their own souls? God forgive me if I go too far, but I think I would as soon commit my soul to the care of the devil.

Nor was the Reverend citizen Prentiss the only one who took upon him to mock Heaven with thanksgivings for the successes of the French sans culottes. From Boston they write: “It was highly
“pleasing to republicans to hear some of our
“clergy yesterday returning thanks to the Supreme
“Being for the successes of the good sans culottes.”
—Yes, reader, some of the clergy of Boston put up thanksgivings for what they imagined to be the successes of a set of impious wretches, who have in the most solemn manner abolished the religion these very clergymen profess, who have declared Christianity to be a farce, and its founder an infamous impostor, and who have represented the doctrine of the immortality of the soul as a mere cheat, contrived by artful priests to enslave mankind. There is but too much reason to fear that many of those whose duty it is to stand on the watch tower, whose duty it is to resist this pernicious doctrine, are among the first to espouse it; but let the clergymen of Boston remember,

“That those whose impious hands are join’d
“From Heav’n the thunderbolt to wrest,
“Shall, when their crimes are finished, find,
“That *death is not eternal rest.*”

But, they tell us, that it is because the French are true republicans, that we ought to applaud them. What a sarcasm on republicanism! As if fire and sword,

sword, prisons and scaffolds, the destruction of cities, the abolition of all religious worship, the inculcation of a doctrine which leads to every crime, stifles remorse, and prevents a return to justice and humanity, were the characteristics of a true republic. If it be so, we ought to blush to call ourselves republicans.

Those profound statesmen who, for our sins, conduct the newspapers of this country,* swore by all that was good, that as soon as Amsterdādam was taken, Great Britain would become a prey to the Carmagnoles.—Is it so? No, not just yet; but it will be so very soon, now; for a “bridge of boats” is getting ready to carry them over. Have patience only a few weeks longer, and there will be no such place as England in the world. My good countrymen, be no longer the sport of these sons of ink. They lie, good folks; upon my soul they tell you lies. I foretold, long enough ago, that the English would rejoice at the overrunning of Holland, and if they do not rejoice at it, their benevolent compassion for the Dutch must have got the better of their interest; for, if there ever was an event that tended to the aggrandizement of Great Britain, to concentrate in her the commerce and riches of all Europe, it certainly is this. There has been a sort of division in the business; the French have got the Dutchmen, and the English have got their money; and I believe few sensible people will hesitate to allow that the latter is the best half.

When people blame our civic feast citizens for rejoicing on account of the triumphs of France over Spain and Holland, and recall to their mind that these two nations were among our best friends

* Those who are not meant here, know that they are not meant, and therefore no apology is necessary.

last war, they should recollect that these our impartial and neutral citizens, do not wish ill to Spain and Holland, except as it may tend to injure Great Britain, and that they would perhaps be as much against the French as they are for them, if they were at war with any other power. Their wishes, however, as is frequently the case among mortals, when accomplished, tend not to the object they have in view. What is it to Englishmen whether the Dutch sniggarsee the French, or the French guillotine the Dutch? whether the Spaniards poignard, or are poignarded? What is it to Englishmen whether their enemies perish on the scaffold, or in the field, or whether they die with hunger? "Vengeance!" cry they, "vengeance on our foes! whether at Paris, Madrid, or Amsterdam!" And, indeed, such is the situation of things at present, that, were it not well known that our revolution was the finest thing that ever happened for mankind in general; were it not well known that the brave and generous nations that assisted us were actuated by the purest and most disinterested motives, one would be almost tempted to fear that heaven had yielded to the vindictive prayer of the English. I do not pretend to say that vengeance is as sweet to our ci-devant King as it is to some of us; but, if it be, what a luxury it must be to him to see the family of Bourbon ruined, root and branch, despised, spit upon, and trodden under foot? to see the baffled French nobility, fallen a sacrifice to the *liberty madness* that they caught during the American war, wandering like vagabonds, or pining in dungeons? to see them receiving alms from his own subjects, or, which is still worse, to see them, the very men who served with so much honour under the American flag, the very men who led forth his army captive from York Town, to see them (oh! liberty, well mayest thou hide thy pretty face),

face), to see them———cringing to his secretaries, and requesting the *honour* of serving under the royal standard of Great Britain ! And what a more than luxury must it be to him to see the Stadtholder throwing himself and his children upon his generosity, asking bread to eat, and a hole to thrust his head into ? I do not pretend to say, I repeat it, that the king of England is as revengeful as some of us ; neither do I pretend that he has the same right to be so ; for there are certain privileges that are the birthright of the sons of liberty and equality, and which can never be extended to despots and their satellites ; but, I will venture to say, that if some among us (mind, I do not say *all*) were in his place at this moment, they would think themselves the happiest creatures in the world.

There is something unaccountable to me in the reports concerning the taking of Holland. It is a *conquest*, and yet the poor Dutch, are made *free and independent* by it. The people every where received the French with *open arms*, and yet these latter have shown infinite *bravery*, and gained everlasting *glory* by the victory. Before the French entered Holland the people were *starving*, but as soon as the French arrived, the granaries became full of corn, which was to be sent off immediately, to feed the gaunt sans culottes in France, and *so* spread plenty over Holland. The Dutch fleet is, in one page of our newspapers, added to the French navy, to fight Lord Howe, in the Channel, and in another, it is drawn up in line of battle by itself, to fight a squadron in the North Sea. How can this be, you bare-a—d politicians ? How can all this be, I say ?

Yes, the Dutch are free, to be sure ; and as happy as the days are long. The sans culotte general does not command the States General ; he *invites* them only. My reader will recollect, though, that

the citizens of France were invited to give up all their gold and silver. "Invitations from superiors," says Fielding, "favour very strongly of commands." So master Pichegru, with a horde of a hundred and fifty thousand barbarians at his heels, *invites* the regenerated Dutch assembly to give him a "few millions;" to require the inhabitants to make but "*frugal meals*;" to take a "few assignats in place of money;" or he invites them to——France and the guillotine. There is an infinite resemblance between the conduct of Pichegru and that of Totila, king of the Goths. When this last entered Naples, he placed a guard over the inhabitants to prevent them from over-eating themselves, while he crammed his horde for another expedition. But in some respects the ancient was far less terrible than the modern barbarian; he never put to death a single priest, never robbed a church, nor was guilty of any kind of sacrilege. It is even said, that when he came to the convent of St. Benedict, he heard the old man with patience, and from that time forward became more humane. How amiable do the Goths appear, when compared to the modern French!

Some of the democratic tribe have cried aloud against me, for speaking of the Dutch and French under the names of *Nick Frog* and the *Baboon*; but let them remember, that while they talk about *John Bull*, I must, and will, be permitted to keep up the allegory,* particularly at a time when it is become more strikingly à-propos than ever. "*Jupiter*," says the fable, "sent the frogs a log of wood† to reign over them; but a bull being let

* The reader has seen the allegory, I allude to, in Swift's works.

† The Stadtholder is well represented by a log.

" loose

“ loose in the pasture, and having trod the guts of
 “ a few of them out, they set up a terrible out-
 “ cry against the stupidity and negligence of king
 “ log. Jupiter tired at last with their everlasting
 “ croakings, and determined to punish them for
 “ their ingratitude to his anointed log, sent them
 “ a huge baboon that gobbled them up by hun-
 “ dreds at a meal.”

Patriot Paine, the heathen philosopher, has observed, that republics never marry*. There is more humour than truth in this observation; for though one would imagine, that the name of *sister* which they give to each other, would be an insuperable bar to such an union, yet experience proves the contrary; for the French republic does not only marry, but is guilty of polygamy. She has already espoused the republic of Batavia (commonly called Holland,) and the poor little Geneva, and she is now swaggering about like a Jack wh—e† with a couple of under punks at her heels. She

* I must not leave the heathen in possession of this remark; he stole it from *Sterne*, and he stole it from *Madame de Pompadour*, and she stole it, perhaps, from Louis XV.

† Let any man read the *Revelations*, and see if France is not the real whore of Babylon.

“ I saw a woman sit upon a beast (the convention,) full of
 “ names of blasphemy—She had a cup in her hand full of abomi-
 “ nations—She was drunk with the blood of the martyrs of
 “ Jesus.—Her judgment shall come in an hour: her mer-
 “ chandise, her gold, silver, precious stones, wood, wine, oil, and
 “ fine flour, wheat, beasts and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and
 “ slaves.—All things which are dainty and godly shall depart
 “ from her.—The merchants shall cry, alas! that great city
 “ that was clothed in fine linen and purple, and decked with gold,
 “ is come to nought.—And no craftsmen, of whatsoever craft,
 “ shall be found any more in her, and the sound of a mill-stone
 “ shall be heard no more in her, and the light of a candle shall
 “ shine no more in her, and the voice of the bridegroom and
 “ bride

She wanted to make love to the cheek of John Bull, but John, beast as he is, had too much grace to be seduced by her. "No," said John, "you hear thenish cannibal, I will not touch you; you reek with blood; get from my sight, you stabling strumpet!" John was half right; for she is indeed a cruel spouse; something like the brazen image formerly made use of in Hungary, that cracked the bones, and squeezed out the blood and guts of those who were condemned to its embraces.

How happy were we in escaping a marriage with a termagant like this! we were, indeed, within an inch of it. Brissot and his crew sent out one of their citizens (who had been employed with so much success in negotiating the marriage with Geneva*) to marry us by proxy, and the democrats were beginning to sing, "come haste to the wedding;" when the President, who had not burnt his bible, saw that the laws of consanguinity did not allow of a marriage between two sisters, and therefore, like a good old father of his country, he peremptorily forbid the bans. Heavens bless him for it! if he had not done this, we might long ago have seen the *citizen* inviting the Congress, as Pichegru does the Dutch assembly, to send him five hundred oxen for breakfast.—He had already begun to scamper about our streets with his sans culottes dragoons (among whom, be it remembered, some of our democrats were base enough to enrol

"bride shall be heard no more in her.—And the ship-master, and all the company in ships, shall stand aloof."

Let no one, then pretend that Rome is pointed out by the scarlet whore; it is France scarlet with blood.

* Citizen Genet was a principal actor in bringing about the revolution at Geneva. See the history of that revolution, published lately by J. Fenno, at Philadelphia.

themselves,)

themselves,) and he would, by this time, perhaps, have ordered us, and not without reason, to call Philadelphia, Commune Affranchie.

The Convention, finding that we were not to be won by this boorish kind of courtship, began to send us billets doux to sooth us into compliance. Among these, that which *invites* us to change our weights and measures is remarkable enough to merit a particular notice. A citizen somebody had been to measure the terrestrial arc contained between *Dunkirk* and *Barcelona*, from which operation it appeared that *we* ought (at the invitation of the *French*) to divide our *pound* into *ten ounces*, our *gallon* into *ten quarts*, our *day* into *ten hours*, our *quadrant* into *a hundred-degrees*, &c. &c. &c. just like *Hudibras*,

“ For he by geometric scale
 “ Could take the size of pots of ale,
 “ And tell by fines and tangents strait,
 “ If bread and butter wanted weight.”

This communication was a sort of a present by way of breaking the ice; artful gallants begin with trifles; a handkerchief, a ring, any bauble marked with the lover's name, paves the way in affairs of love. If we had set about making the alterations, which we were invited to make, we should, undoubtedly, have been invited to divide our year according to the decadery calendar, abolish Christianity, and punish with death those who should have dared to worship “*the ci-devant God*.” I almost wonder that these generous *enlighteners* of the world, these generous encouragers of the arts and sciences, had not sent us, along with the models of weights and measures, models of their *lantern posts* and *guillotines*. They talk about their *nautical discoveries*, why had they not sent us, then, a model of their *drowning boats*, by which fifty

women and children were sent to the bottom at a time? They might also have obliged us with an essay on the method of making bread, without taking the bran out of the flour; and how well pleased must the Congress have been with a treatise on legislative boxing!* But, as the French have all the honour of these discoveries, so, I suppose, they mean to have all the profit too, and God punish the villain that would wish to rob them of it, I say.

The Convention, in this communication, resemble *Jack* in the *Tale of a Tub*; “Flay, pull, tear all off,” say they, “let not a single stitch of the livery of that d——d rogue, John Bull, remain.” The Congress, however, have thought proper to imitate the phlegmatic good nature of Brother Marrin. “Steady, boys, steady,” said they one to another; “those fellows, there, are got keel up—permost, and they want to see us in the same plight.”—I would have given a trifle for a view of the Senators when they received this *ten-ounces-to-the-pound* proposal; the gravity of a senator surpasses what I conceived of it, if they did not run a risk of bursting their sides. The notice they have taken of it, will, I hope, prevent like *invitations* for the future; and convince the French that our Congress is not an assembly

“Where *quicks* and *quirks*, in dull debates,
 “Dispute on *maximums* and *weights*,
 “And cut the land in *squares*;
 “Making king mob gulph down the cheat,
 “And singling for *themselves the wheat*,
 “Leave for the *berd* the *tares*.”

I do not know whether the French are irritated

* See Dunlap's gazette of May 8th 1795, for an account of a bruising match in the National Convention.

at our *sang froid*, or at our consulting our interests with other nations, or how it is, but certainly they begin to show their good will to us in a very odd manner. Their depredations on our commerce have already surpassed those of the English. One captain writes: "I have been *robbed by them*; they "have *broken open my trunks, and took my all*." Another says; "they have called me a *damned Anglo-American, beat me*, and thrown me into prison." Another says: "They have kept me here "these four months; they do what they please with "my cargo; and *the lord knows what will become of me*." Another *petitions* the sans culotte General, and concludes with, "your petitioner shall ever *pray!*"—And is this all? Do they now talk of these things with the humility of slaves? No, execrations! Have they emptied their galls on the English! Is there not one curse, one poor spiteful curse, left for the sans culottes? Ye Gods! how men are sometimes ice and sometimes fire! When the English took our vessels, what *patriot* bosom did not burn with rage? There was nothing talked of but vengeance, war, and confiscation. Where is now all this "republican ardour," where are all those young men who "burnt for an opportunity "to defend the *liberty*, rights, and property of "their country?" Where are all those courageous *captains*, who entered into an association to oblige the government to declare war? Are they dead? do they sleep? or are they gone with their chief *Barney*, to fight, like Swisses, for the French Convention? Last year about this time, nothing was to be heard but their malicious left-handed complaints; a rough word or a wry look was thought sufficient to rouse the whole union to revenge the insults they received on the high seas. They now seem as insensible to every insult as the images at the head of their vessels; submit to their fate

with Christian resignation, with, "Lord have mercy upon us," and, "your petitioners will ever pray!"

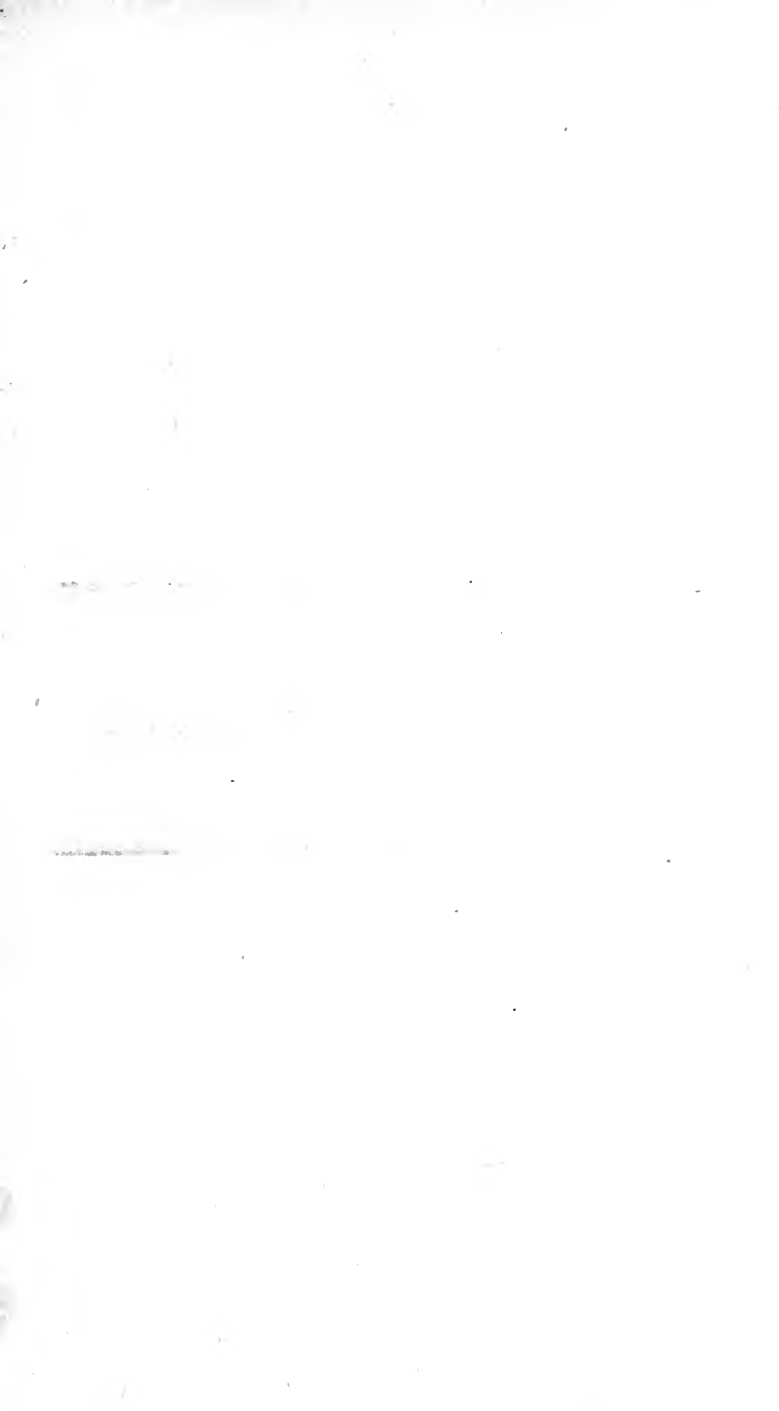
If any one wants to be convinced that the democratic out-cry about the British depredations was intended to plunge us into war and misery, let him look at their conduct at the present moment. An Envoy Extraordinary was sent to England to demand restitution, which has not only been granted, but a long wished-for commercial treaty has also been negotiated. One would think that this would satisfy all parties; one would think that this would even shut the mouths of the democrats; but no; this is all wrong, and they are beginning to tear the treaty to pieces, before they know any thing about it; they have condemned the whole, before they know any single article of it. They were eternally abusing Mr. Pitt, because he kept aloof in the business, and now he has complied, they say, that no such thing should ever have been thought of. "What," say they, "make a treaty with Great Britain?"—And why not, wiseacres? Who would you make a treaty with, but those with whom you trade? You are afraid of giving umbrage to France, eh? Is this language worthy an independent nation? What is France to us, that our destiny is to be linked to hers? that we are not to thrive because she is a bankrupt? She has no articles of utility to sell us, nor will she have wherewith to pay us for what she buys. Great Britain, on the contrary, is a ready money customer; what she furnishes us is, in general, of the first necessity, for which she gives us, besides, a long credit: hundreds and thousands of fortunes are made in this country upon the bare credit given by the merchants of Great Britain.

Think not, reader, whatever advantages we are about to derive from the treaty with Great Britain,
that

that I wish to see such a marked partiality shown for that nation, as has hitherto appeared for the French; such meannesses may be overlooked in those despicable states that are content to roll as the satellites of others, in a Batavia or Geneva, but in us it never can. No; let us forget that it is owing to Great Britain that this country is not now an uninhabited desert; that the land we possess was purchased from the aborigines with the money of an Englishman; that his hands traced the streets on which we walk. Let us forget from whom we are descended, and persuade our children that we are the sons of the gods, or the accidental offspring of the elements; let us forget the scalping knives of the French, to which we were thirty years exposed; but let us never forget that we are not Frenchmen.



CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS.



S U M M A R Y
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS,
DURING
THE SESSION WHICH COMMENCED ON THE
FOURTH OF NOVEMBER, 1794.

THE two houses adjourned *sine die*, on the 3d of March, 1795, after having spent four months in wrangling about trifles. The Senate was composed of men who were very well disposed to aid and support the Executive ; but, this was far from being the case in the House of Representatives, where the majority was clearly on the French, or democratic, side. The dispositions of the two assemblies will be distinctly ascertained by their answers to the President's speech.

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH,

Delivered to the two Houses on the 19th of November, 1794.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives,

WHEN we call to mind the gracious indulgence of heaven, by which the American people became a nation ; when we survey the general prosperity of our country, and look forward to the riches

riches, power, and happiness, to which it seems destined; with the deepest regret do I announce to you, that, during your recess, some of the citizens of the United States have been found capable of an insurrection. It is due, however, to the character of our government, and to its stability, which cannot be shaken by the enemies of order, freely to unfold the course of this event.

During the session of the year 1790 it was expedient to exercise the legislative power granted by the constitution of the United States, "to lay and collect excises." In a majority of the States scarcely an objection was heard to this mode of taxation. In some, indeed, alarms were at first conceived, until they were banished by reason and patriotism. In the four western counties of Pennsylvania, a prejudice, fostered and embittered by the artifice of men who laboured for an ascendancy over the will of others by the guidance of their passions, produced symptoms of riot and violence. It is well known that Congress did not hesitate to examine the complaints which were presented; and to relieve them, as far as justice dictated, or general convenience would permit. But the impression which this moderation made on the discontented, did not correspond with what it deserved. The arts of delusion were no longer confined to the efforts of designing individuals. The very forbearance to press prosecutions was misinterpreted into a fear of urging the execution of the laws: and associations of men began to denounce threats against the officers employed. From a belief, that, by a more formal concert their operation might be defeated, *certain self-created societies assumed the tone of condemnation.* Hence, while the greater part of Pennsylvania itself were conformed themselves to the acts of excise, a few counties were resolved

resolved to frustrate them. It was now perceived that every expectation from the tenderness which had been hitherto pursued, was unavailing, and that further delay could only create an opinion of impotency or irresolution in the government. Legal process was therefore delivered to the marshal, against the rioters and delinquent distillers.

No sooner was he understood to be engaged in this duty, than the vengeance of armed men was aimed at *his* person, and the person and property of the inspector of the revenue. They fired upon the marshal, arrested him—and detained him, for some time, as a prisoner. He was obliged by the jeopardy of his life, to renounce the service of other process, on the west side of the Alleghany mountain: and a deputation was afterwards sent to him to demand a surrender of that which he *had* served. A numerous body repeatedly attacked the house of the inspector, seized his papers of office—and finally destroyed by fire, his buildings and whatsoever they contained. Both of these officers, from a just regard to their safety, fled to the seat of government; it being avowed, that the motives of such outrages were to compel the resignation of the inspector—to withstand by force of arms the authority of the United States, and thereby to extort a repeal of the laws of excise, and an alteration in the conduct of government.

Upon the testimony of these facts, an associate justice of the supreme court of the United States notified to me, “that in the counties of Washington and Alleghany in Pennsylvania laws of the United States were opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations, too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshal of that district.” On this call, momentous

tous in the extreme, I sought and weighed, what might best subdue the crisis. On the one hand, the judiciary was pronounced to be stripped of its capacity to enforce the laws : crimes, which reached the very existence of social order, were perpetrated without controul ; the friends of government were insulted, abused, and overawed into silence, or an apparent acquiescence ; and to yield to the treasonable fury of so small a portion of the United States, would be to violate the fundamental principle of our constitution, which enjoins that the will of the majority shall prevail. On the other, to array citizen against citizen—to publish the dishonour of such excesses—to encounter the expense, and other embarrassments of so distant an expedition ; were steps too delicate—too closely interwoven with many affecting considerations, to be lightly adopted. I postponed, therefore, the summoning of the militia immediately into the field. But I required them to be held in readiness, that if my anxious endeavours to reclaim the deluded, and to convince the malignant of their danger, should be fruitless, military force might be prepared to act, before the season should be too far advanced.

My proclamation of the 7th of August last was accordingly issued, and accompanied by the appointment of commissioners, who were charged to repair to the scene of insurrection. They were authorized to confer with any bodies of men or individuals. They were instructed to be candid and explicit, in stating the sensations, which had been excited in the executive, and his earnest wish to avoid a resort to coercion ; to represent, however, that without submission, coercion *must* be the resort ; but to invite them at the same time, to return to the demeanor of faithful citizens, by such accommodations as lay within the sphere of executive power—Pardon too, was tendered to them
by

by the government of the United States, and that of Pennsylvania ; upon no other condition than a satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws.

Although the report of the commissioners mark their firmness and abilities, and must unite all virtuous men, by shewing, that the means of conciliation have been exhausted ; all of those who had committed or abetted the tumults, did not subscribe the mild form, which was proposed as the atonement ; and the indications of a peaceable temper were neither sufficiently general, nor conclusive, to recommend or warrant, the farther suspension or march of the militia.

Thus, the painful alternative could not be discarded. I ordered the militia to march ; after once more admonishing the insurgents in my proclamation of the 25th of September last.

It was a task too difficult to ascertain with precision the lowest degree of force, competent to the quelling of the insurrection. From a respect, indeed to economy, and the care of my fellow-citizens, belonging to the militia, it would have gratified me to accomplish such an estimate. My very great reluctance to ascribe too much importance to the opposition, had its extent been accurately seen, would have been a decided inducement to the smallest efficient numbers.—In this uncertainty, therefore, I put into motion fifteen thousand men, as being an army, which, according to all human calculation, would be prompt, and adequate in every view ; and might, perhaps, by rendering resistance desperate, prevent the effusion of blood. Quotas had been assigned to the states of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia ; the governor of Pennsylvania having declared on this occasion, an opinion, which justified a requisition to the other states.

As commander in chief of the militia, when
VOL. II. M called

called into the actual service of the United States ; I have visited the places of general rendezvous, to obtain more exact information, and to direct a plan for ulterior movements. Had there been room for a persuasion, that the laws were secure from obstruction ; that the civil magistrate was able to bring to justice such of the most culpable, as have not embraced the proffered terms of amnesty, and may be deemed fit objects of example ; that the friends to peace and good government were not in need of that aid and countenance, which they ought always to receive ; and, I trust, ever will receive, against the vicious and turbulent ; I should have caught with avidity the opportunity of restoring the militia to their families and home. But succeeding intelligence has tended to manifest the necessity of what has been done : it being now confessed by those who were not inclined to exaggerate the ill-conduct of the insurgents, that their malevolence was not pointed merely to a particular law ; but that a spirit, inimical to all order, has actuated many of the offenders. If the state of things had afforded reason for the continuance of my presence with the army, it would not have been withholden. But every appearance assuring such an issue, as will redound to the reputation and strength of the United States, I have judged it most proper, to resume my duties at the seat of government ; leaving the chief command with the governor of Virginia.

Still, however, as it is probable, that in a commotion like the present, whatsoever may be the pretence, the purposes of mischief and revenge may not be laid aside ; the stationing of a small force for a certain period in the four western counties of Pennsylvania will be indispensable, whether we contemplate the situation of those who are connected with the execution of the laws ; or of others, who may have exposed themselves by an honourable attachment

attachment to them. Thirty days from the commencement of this session, being the legal limitation of the employment of the militia, Congress cannot be too early occupied with this subject.

Among the discussions which may arise from this aspect of our affairs, and from the documents which will be submitted to Congress, it will not escape their observation, that not only the inspector of the revenue, but other officers of the United States in Pennsylvania, have, from their fidelity in the discharge of their functions, sustained material injuries to their property. The obligation and policy of indemnifying them, are strong and obvious. It may also merit attention, whether policy will not enlarge this provision to the retribution of other citizens, who, though not under the ties of office, may have suffered damage by their generous exertions for upholding the constitution and the laws. The amount, even if all the injured were included, would not be great; and on future emergencies the government would be amply repaid by the influence of an example, that he who incurs a loss in its defence, shall find a recompence in its liberality.

While there is cause to lament, that occurrences of this nature should have disgraced the name, or interrupted the tranquillity, of any part of our community, or should have diverted to a new application any portion of the public resources, there are not wanting real and substantial consolations for the misfortune. It has demonstrated, that our prosperity rests on solid foundations; by furnishing an additional proof that my fellow citizens understand the true principles of government and liberty; that they feel their inseparable union; that notwithstanding all the devices which have been used to sway them from their interest and duty, they are now *as ready to maintain the authority of the law against licentious invasions, as they were to defend*

M 2

their

their rights against usurpation. It has been a spectacle, displaying to the highest advantage the value of republican government, to *behold the most and the least wealthy of our citizens standing in the same ranks, as private soldiers, pre-eminently distinguished by being the army of the constitution; undeterred by a march of three hundred miles over rugged mountains, by the approach of an inclement season, or by any other discouragement.** Nor ought I to omit to acknowledge

* What foreigner was there, who did not believe, upon reading this Speech, that the militia vied with each other in their ardour to march on this occasion? yet, how far, how very far, was this from being the case! The fact is, the army was assembled with the utmost difficulty, though every art was made use of to induce the militia to turn out. But, not to suffer so important a truth to rest on bare assertion, let us refer to the official report, made on the 16th of January, 1795, by the Secretary of Pennsylvania, to the Legislative Assembly of that State.

This Report was made in compliance with the request of a Committee of the Assembly, "appointed to inquire into the causes of the Militia *Not turning out promptly* on the late requisition of the President of the United States, to suppress the Insurrection in the Western Counties."—The Secretary, after detailing the efforts which were made by the Governor to induce the militia to obey his summons, proceeds thus, in relating the result:

"The Inspector of militia of the city of Philadelphia almost daily called at the Secretary's office with representations of the *embarrassment, which he experienced in complying with the requisition; and repeatedly expressed his doubt of success.*"—"The return from the County of Philadelphia concluded with stating, that there was *very little prospect of obtaining the quota of that County.*"—"The return from Bucks County stated, that the *pay of the militia was universally objected to, and that there was no hope of completing the quota of the County, nor did that County, at last, send its quota to the field.*"—"Montgomery County *sent no quota to the field.*"—"The return from Chester County stated, that several of the Officers had *actually resigned their commissions.*"—"The militia *did not like the service they were ordered on.*"—"The return from Delaware County expressed *great doubts of being able to raise the quota.*"—"From Dauphin County the return stated, that "the militia

" said

ledge the efficacious and patriotic co-operation which I have experienced from the chief magistrates of the States to which my requisitions have been addressed.

To every description indeed of citizens let praise be given. But let them persevere in their affectionate vigilance over that precious repository of American happiness, the constitution of the United States. Let them cherish it too, for the sake of those, who, from every clime, are daily seeking a dwelling in our land. And when in the calm moments of reflection, they shall have retraced the origin and progress of the insurrection; let them determine, whether it has not been fomented by combinations of men, who, careless of consequences,

“ said they were ready to march against a *foreign enemy*, but *not* “ *against their fellow citizens*.”—Precisely the same is reported respecting the disposition of the militia in the other counties of the State, and it is well known, that, the quota of Pennsylvania was at last raised (in part only) by a *bounty* given by the Legislature, who were assembled for the express purpose on the 2d of September. So that, these gallant citizen-soldiers, on whose *patriotic* conduct Washington passes such a lofty eulogium, were, after all, a set of the most despicable mercenaries that ever stepped to the beat of the drum. Their *principles* forbade them march against their dear fellow citizens, 'till they were *paid* for so doing! So much for a republican patriotism; so much for those men, who, as the President says, were “ *pre-eminently distinguished by being the army of the Constitution*.”

This part of the Speech was no more than one of those pious frauds, which the American government is continually practising, with the laudable intention of keeping the Sovereign People in good humour, and of deceiving the rest of the world. But, methinks, that Washington might, *on such an occasion*, have forborne to revive what he has the audacity to call the “ *usurpation*” of Great Britain. Having just returned from dragooning the poor Sovereign People into a compliance with a *heavy excise on their only drink*, he surely might have forborne to remind them, that they were justly punished for rebelling against their Sovereign on account of a *three-penny tax on tea*!

and disregarding the unerring truth that those, who rouse, cannot always appease a civil convulsion, have disseminated, from an ignorance or perversion of facts, suspicions, jealousies, and accusations of the whole government.

Having thus fulfilled the engagement, which I took, when I entered into office, "to the best of my ability to preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States," on you, gentlemen, and the people by whom you were deputed, I rely for support.

In the arrangements, to which the possibility of a similar contingency will naturally draw your attention, it ought not to be forgotten, that the militia laws have exhibited such striking defects, as could not have been supplied but by the zeal of our citizens. Besides the extraordinary expense and waste, which are not the least of the defects, every appeal to those laws is attended with a doubt on its success.

The devising and establishing of a well regulated militia, would be a genuine source of legislative honour, and a perfect title to public gratitude. I, therefore, entertain a hope, that the present session will not pass, without carrying to its full energy the power of organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia; and thus providing, in the language of the constitution, for calling them forth to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

As auxiliary to the state of our defence, to which Congress cannot too frequently recur, they will not omit to inquire, whether the fortifications, which have been already licenced by law be commensurate with our exigencies.

The intelligence from the army under the command of General Wayne, is a happy presage to our
military

military operations against the hostile Indians north of the Ohio. From the advices which have been forwarded, the advance which he has made, must have damped the ardour of the savages, and weakened their obstinacy in waging war against the United States. And yet, even at this late hour, when our power to punish them cannot be questioned, we shall not be unwilling to cement a lasting peace, upon terms of candour, equity, and good neighbourhood.

Towards none of the Indian tribes have overtures of friendship been spared. The creeks in particular are covered from incroachment by the interposition of the general government, and that of Georgia. From a desire also to remove the discontents of the Six Nations, a settlement at Presqu'isle, on the Lake Erie, has been suspended; and an agent is now endeavouring to rectify any misconception, into which they may have fallen. But I cannot refrain from again pressing upon your deliberations, the plan which I recommended at the last session, for the improvement of harmony with all the Indians within our limits; by the fixing and conducting of trading houses, upon the principles then expressed.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

The time which has elapsed, since the commencement of our fiscal measures, has developed our pecuniary resources, so as to open the way for a definitive plan for the redemption of the public debt. It is believed, that the result is such, as to encourage Congress to consummate this work without delay. Nothing can more promote the permanent welfare of the nation, and nothing could be more grateful to our constituents. Indeed, whatsoever is unfinished of our system of public credit,

credit, cannot be benefited by procrastination, and as far as may be practicable, we ought to place that credit on grounds, which cannot be disturbed, and to prevent that progressive accumulation of debt which must ultimately endanger all governments.

An estimate of the necessary appropriations, including the expenditures, into which we have been driven by the insurrection, will be submitted to Congress.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives,

The mint of the United States has entered upon the coinage of the precious metals; and considerable sums of defective coins and bullion have been lodged with the director by individuals. There is a pleasing prospect that the institution will, at no remote day, realize the expectation, which was originally formed of its utility.

In subsequent communications, certain circumstances of our intercourse with foreign nations, will be transmitted to Congress. However, it may not be unseasonable to announce, that my policy in our foreign transactions has been, to cultivate peace with all the world; to observe treaties with pure and absolute faith; to check every deviation from the line of impartiality; to explain what may have been misapprehended; and correct what may have been injurious to any nation; and having thus acquired the right, to lose no time in acquiring the ability, to insist upon justice being done to ourselves.

Let us unite, therefore, in imploring the Supreme Ruler of Nations, to spread his holy protection over these United States:—to turn the machinations of the wicked to the confirming of our constitution; to enable us at all times to root out internal sedition, and put invasion to flight; to
perpetuate

perpetuate to our country that prosperity, which his goodness has already conferred, and to verify the anticipations of this government being a safeguard to human rights.

G°. WASHINGTON.

United States, }
November 19th, 1794. }

ANSWER OF THE SENATE.

“ Sir,

“ We receive with pleasure, your speech to the two houses of Congress; in it we perceive renewed proofs of that vigilant and paternal concern for the prosperity, honour and happiness of our country, which has uniformly distinguished your past administration.”

“ Our anxiety arising from the licentious and open resistance, to the laws, in the western counties of Pennsylvania, has been increased by the proceedings of certain self-created societies, relative to the laws and administration of the government; proceedings in our apprehension, founded in political error, and calculated, if not intended, to disorganize our government; and which, by inspiring delusive hopes of support, have been influential in misleading our fellow citizens in the scene of insurrection.”

“ In a situation so delicate and important, the lenient and persuasive measures which you adopted, merit and receive our affectionate approbation; these failing to procure their proper effect, and coercion having become inevitable, we have derived the highest satisfaction from the enlightened patriotism, and *animating zeal* with which the citizens of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland

land and Virginia have *rallied around the standard of government*, in opposition to anarchy and insurrection.”*

“ Our warm and cordial acknowledgements are due to you, Sir, for the wisdom and decision with which you arrayed the militia, to execute the public will, and to them for the disinterestedness and alacrity, with which they obeyed your summons.”

“ The example is precious to the theory of our government, and confers the brightest honour upon the patriots who have given it.”

“ We shall readily concur in such farther provisions for the security of eternal peace, and due obedience to the laws, as the occasion manifestly requires.”

“ The effectual organization of the militia, and a prudent attention to the fortifications of our ports and harbours, are subjects of great national importance, and, together with the other measures you have been pleased to recommend, will receive our deliberate consideration.”

“ The success of the troops under the command of General Wayne, cannot fail to produce essential advantages. The pleasure with which we acknowledge the merits of that gallant general and army, is enhanced by the hope, that their victories will lay the foundation of a just and durable peace with the Indian tribes.”

“ At a period so momentous in the affairs of nations, the temperate, just, and firm policy that you have pursued in respect to foreign powers, has been eminently calculated to promote the great and essential interest of our country, and has crea-

* See Note to the President's Speech.

ted the fairest title to the public gratitude and thanks."

"JOHN ADAMS,

"Vice-President of the United States,
"and President of the Senate."

This, as the reader will perceive, is a cheerful echo of the President's Speech; and, had the other house showed the same disposition, at this critical time, to co-operate cordially with the Executive, much of the distress, as well as the disgrace, which the United States afterwards experienced, would have been avoided. But, that they were very far indeed from possessing such a disposition was manifest from the reluctance with which they abstained from *censuring* the Speech, and from the length of time, which they occupied in resolving on the following most grudging and ill-natured answer to it.

ANSWER OF THE REPRESENTATIVES.

"Sir,

"THE House of Representatives, calling to mind the blessings enjoyed by the people of the United States, and especially the happiness of living under constitutions and laws, which rest on their authority alone, could not learn, with other emotions than those you have expressed, that any part of our fellow citizens should have shewn themselves capable of an insurrection; and we learn with the greatest concern, that any misrepresentations, whatever, of the government and its proceedings, either by individuals or combinations of men, should have been made, and so far credited,

as

as to foment the flagrant outrage, which has been committed on the laws."

"We feel, with you, the deepest regret, at so painful an occurrence in the annals of our country. As men, regardful of the tender interests of humanity, we look with grief at scenes which might have stained our land with civil blood. As lovers of public order, we lament that it has suffered so flagrant a violation: As zealous friends of Republican Government, we deplore every occasion which, in the hands of its enemies, may be turned into a calumny against it."

"This aspect of the crisis, however, is happily not the only one which it presents. There is another which yields all the consolations which you have drawn from it. It has demonstrated to the candid world, as well as to the American people themselves, that the great body of them, every where, are equally attached to the luminous and vital principle of our constitution, which enjoins, that the will of the majority shall prevail: That they understand the indissoluble union between true liberty and regular government: That they feel their duties no less than they are watchful over their rights: That they will be as ready at all times to crush licentiousness, as they have been to defeat usurpation. In a word, that they are capable of carrying into execution that noble plan of self-government, which they have chosen as the guarantee of their own happiness, and the asylum for that of all from every clime, who wish to unite their destiny with ours."

"These are the just inferences flowing from *the promptitude with which the summons to the standard of the Laws has been obeyed*;* and from the sen-

* See Note to the President's Speech.

timents which have been witnessed in every description of citizens, in every quarter of the union. The spectacle, therefore, when viewed in its true light, may well be affirmed to display in equal lustre the virtues of the American character, and value of Republican Government. All must particularly acknowledge and applaud the patriotism of that portion of citizens, who have freely sacrificed every thing, less dear than the love of their country, to the meritorious task of defending its happiness."

" In the part which you yourself have borne through this delicate and distressing period, we trace the additional proofs it has afforded of your solicitude for the public good. Your laudable and successful endeavours to render lenity in executing the laws conducive to their real energy, and to convert tumult into order, without the effusion of blood, form a particular title to the confidence and praise of your constituents. In all that may be found necessary, on our part, to complete this benevolent purpose, and to secure the ministers and friends of the laws against the remains of danger, our due co-operation will be afforded."

" The other subjects which you have recommended, or communicated, and of which several are peculiarly interesting, will all receive the attention which they demand. We are deeply impressed with the importance of an effectual organization of the militia."

" We rejoice at the intelligence of the advance and success of the army under the command of General Wayne ;—whether we regard it as a proof of the perseverance, prowess and superiority of our troops, or as a happy presage to our military operations against the hostile Indians, and as a probable prelude to the establishment of a lasting peace, upon terms of candour, equity and good neighbourhood

bourhood—we receive it with the greater pleasure, as it increases the probability of sooner restoring a part of the public resources to the desirable object of reducing the public debt.”

“ We shall on this, as on all occasions, be disposed to adopt any measure which may advance the safety and prosperity of our country.”

“ In nothing can we more cordially unite with you than in imploring the Supreme Ruler of Nations, to multiply his blessings on these United States—to guard our free and happy constitution against every machination and danger—and to make it the best source of public happiness, by verifying its character of being the best safeguard of human rights.”

By turning to the President's Speech, it will be perceived, that he threw out a hint of *censure on the Democratic Societies*, and that he slightly glanced at the *negociation with the Court of Great Britain*, then pending. These, considering the prejudices and temper of the people, and the character of their Representatives, were very delicate subjects. The President seemed clearly to foresee with what bitterness they would be discussed; but, he nevertheless found it absolutely necessary to introduce them.

It is the custom of both Houses to appoint a committee to draft an answer to the President's Speech; the committee appointed, on this occasion, by the House of Representatives, consisted of three members, Messrs. Madison, Sedgwick, and Scott.

The answer, as reported by the committee, took no notice of that part of the speech, which alludes to the Democratic Societies; an amendment was, therefore, proposed, by Mr. Fitzimmons, in the following words :

“ As part of this subject, we cannot withhold
“ our

“ our reprobation of the self-created societies,
“ which have risen up in some parts of the union,
“ misrepresenting the conduct of the government,
“ and disturbing the operation of the laws, and
“ which, by deceiving and inflaming the ignorant and the weak, may naturally be supposed
“ to have stimulated and urged the insurrection.

“ These are institutions not strictly unlawful, yet
“ they are not less fatal to good order and true
“ liberty, *and reprehensible in the degree that our*
“ *system of government approaches to perfect political*
“ *freedom.*”

Though the last position in Mr. Fitzimmon's amendment might not be quite clear to a mind unilluminated by republicanism, it was evident, to every one, that the substance of the amendment was very proper to be introduced into the answer. But the thing's being proper was not sufficient to induce the House of Representatives to adopt it. It produced a very long and acrimonious debate, during which, all the ingenuity of both parties was amply displayed.

The partizans of France who saw the utility of the clubs, in furthering their views, were by no means to be induced to pass a vote of censure on them; and yet they could not, without openly avowing themselves the tools of Genet and his successor, justify their conduct; they, therefore, endeavoured to steer a middle course.

GILES (of Virginia) began the debate. The moment the motion was read from the chair, he rose “to state,” (as he said) “his sentiments, *at large,*” on the subject. This was a dreadful exordium. The committee seemed to be fully aware of the unbearable persecution that was about to fall on them, and the menace was hardly out of the orator's mouth, when a member rose and endeavoured to obtain a respite by making a motion for the committee to rise. Giles felt the sarcasm, and observed,

observed, with some confusion, that he did not wish to force himself upon the committee ; but, if they were disposed to hear him, he was prepared to proceed ; upon which Sedgwick objected to the committee's rising, remarking the house had often been *highly diverted* by the gentleman who was about to address them, and he anticipated extraordinary entertainment on the present occasion.

In spite of this killing compliment, however, the Virginian proceeded to give his opinion on the question.—“ He wished, he said, the discussion of the subject had been avoided, because it would agitate the public mind out of doors, when the House of Representatives is seen erecting itself into a tribunal of censorship. This he would have avoided, by a silence on the subject. He should deliver his sentiments, he said, not with a view of making proselytes, but only as an evidence of the motives of his vote. He expressed the highest regard for the President ; regretted that he differed from him in opinion on the present occasion ; but hoped that no man's opinion was to be taken as the test of truth.”

“ After these few preliminary observations, he proceeded to take a view of the subject. By bestowing censure upon self-created societies, that censure would fall on every individual of the United States. A self-created society might be defined, a society of men formed without the express sanction of the constitution or the laws ; then all philosophical, philanthropic and even religious societies whuld come under the censure : they are all self-created. If it be said, that the censure is meant to be confined to political societies merely, it may be answered, that from the pulpit, even, political doctrines have often been announced ; and it would be considered as curtailing privileges to condemn a practice so long pursued. But what distinctions,
he

he asked, would render religious opinions safe, if the liberty of political opinions were infringed?"

"There had been, he proceeded to state, political institutions in different parts of the United States many years back. In the state of Pennsylvania there was a Republican Society, the object of which was even, and they accomplished the object, to overturn the then existing constitution of the state; yet this society was not deemed a treasonable association. There has been of latter years also in Pennsylvania a society for Political Knowledge, of which the venerable Franklin was a member, if not the founder; and this society had ventured to censure the conduct of the governor of Pennsylvania, and of other states, and yet their conduct had not been criminated. There existed at this day a self-created society, that of the Cincinnati, the principles of which were more inconsistent with the principles of our government than perhaps any other.—They had adopted the principle of hereditary succession, and nothing, he could conceive, but the effervescence of the public mind, could palliate a denunciation on one self-created society by members of another."

"The President in his speech, he remarked, rather confined his observations on this point to the four western counties of Pennsylvania; the clause proposed stood on a broader bottom. The legislature by attempting to exercise a censorship on public opinion, go out of the line of their duty, and cannot be justified for so doing. If individuals, individually or collectively, express sentiments criminally, they are amenable to the laws; the laws are the only censors. If the house pass a censure on any particular class of men, where is it to stop? Will they institute a code of ethics? It might be the opinion of the House that extravagant living had gained a dangerous height; that land specu-

culation, which has been carried on in such a manner in some cases, as to deserve no better name than swindling on a broad scale; that the enormous paper speculations, were all evils; but it was no part of the constitutional duties of the legislature to notice these by throwing censures upon them. If they permitted themselves to wander from their duty in this way, it would only produce recrimination, and give the societies a weight they never had before. This would be unwise and improper; the business of legislation is the province of the legislature. By this vote of censure it is not pretended that these societies can be suppressed; then what utility, even in the eyes of those who disapproved of such associations, could it be of; certainly, such a vote could not operate a spell on them as a magician's wand; and if it did, it might be unwise. If the step is taken, he repeated, it would only produce recrimination, and expose the weakness of the House; unless it was meant by law to suppress them. If the expression of opinion, through the medium of societies is consonant to law, the House had no right to suppress them; and if not, then they would be amenable to the laws, and there would be no need of the House intermeddling. If the institutions are right, there need be no remedy applied; if they are not, the enlightened state of the American mind will correct the evil."

"If a view of the rise of such societies be taken, it will be found, he said, that they originated in meetings for the approbation of certain measures of government. At the time of the President's proclamation there were assemblies of citizens to approve of it; these were not condemned as irregular or improper. With respect to the societies in question, he declared, that he had no connection with any of them, nor was he acquainted with
any

any members of them, that he knew; but he never, as a legislator, would meddle with the freedom of opinion. If they acted in an unlawful manner, he repeated, they were amenable to the laws. He hoped the amendment would not obtain."

Giles was followed, on the same side, by M'Dowel, Nicholas, Lyman, Christie, and others; who were opposed by Sedgwick, Tracy, W. Smith, Murray, Hillhouse, Scott, and Ames.

The speech of Mr. Ames forms a very good summary of what was said in support of the censure: and contains, besides, too much information respecting the democratic combinations, to be omitted in this selection. It contains too much of the republican cant of 1795; but, the speaker was compelled to make use of it, or to hold his tongue,

MR. AMES began with expressing his "pleasure that he had sat down, to give way for Mr. Scott to speak; but this, every one must see, was attended with a personal sacrifice; as it was manifestly a disadvantage to bring forward his observations immediately after those of that gentleman, because they were too remarkable for their pertinence and strength to encourage the attempts of their opponents to invalidate, or his own to enforce them. He requested Mr. Giles, and he urged it strongly on the House, to consider maturely how large a part of the argument he had to answer. Mr. Giles had been occupied in refuting what nobody had asserted, and in proving what nobody had denied. It would appear to every person, at a glance, that, after so large a deduction should be made, the advocate of the amendment would be left almost without an adversary. He observed, it would be amusing, and not without its uses, to turn a moment from the debate, to inquire what would be said of yesterday's decision. Fame already bears it on all her wings,

wings, and proclaims it with all her tongues; that Congress has been engaged in trying the democratic clubs; and curiosity stands a tiptoe on all our post roads for the answer, which is already gone forth. Forty-seven members were for the clubs, and forty-five against them, so that the clubs gained the victory. Is this true? "I dare appeal," said Mr. Ames, "to you, Sir, and to every other patriotic bosom, that it is *not true*. A large majority, and I may even say, with pride and pleasure, almost *all* the members who hear me, despise and abominate the clubs as sincerely as the words of the President's speech, the answer of the Senate, his reply to them, or the amendment now before us can imply it." How happens it, that the real sentiments of the House are so much misrepresented by the vote? I shall be pardoned if I undertake to explain this enigma. Two reasons have been suggested in private conversation, as well as in debate, which will account for the vote of yesterday, and which on being stated and re-examined, will afford good cause for changing it to day. The first is, that we have nothing to do with the clubs. We hold them in too much contempt to have any thing to say to them, or about them. They are not worth notice. This contempt had the appearance yesterday of countenance and patronage. The other motive suggested is, if the words *self-created societies* should be struck out, the amendment will still contain the substance of the proposition contended for; which is to reprobate the combinations of men against law. This description will include the clubs, as well as any other wicked combinations that have had any agency in the insurrection. How far the one or the other of these motives ought to influence those who have entertained them, to vote against the
amend-

amendment for inserting the words *self-created societies and*, will appear by a survey of the true posture of the question."

" Here Mr. Ames stated, that it was the duty of the President, by the constitution, to inform Congress of the state of the Union ; that he had accordingly, in his speech, stated the insurrection, and the cause that, he thought, had brought it on. Among these, he explicitly reckons the self-created societies and combinations of men to be one. The Senate as plainly, charge that as one of the causes. The President, in his reply to the Senate, expresses his high satisfaction that they concur with him in opinion. Mr. Ames then read the passages in the speech, address, and answer to the address. He said further, that an amendment was now offered to the house, expressed as nearly as may be, in the words of the President ; an objection is urged against this amendment, that the proposition contained in it is not true in fact. It is also said, that although it were true, it would be dangerous to liberty, to assent to it in our answer to the speech. It is moreover, say they, improper, unnecessary and indecent to mention the self-created societies. The amendment now urged upon the House has been put to vote in the committee of the whole House, and rejected. What will the world say, and that too from the evidence of our own records, if we reject it again in the House ? Will it not be proclaimed that we reject the motion, and give force and validity to the objections ? Do we adopt such objections ? Are the committee consenting to the shame of having them charged upon the committee as the principles by which they have guided our decision ? We are not, Mr. Ames was sure, we are not ; for with a very few exceptions, I wish there were none, both sides have united in reprobating the self-created societies. Surely, then, gentlemen will

not hesitate to rescind a vote which is not less deceptive than it is pernicious? For if we adopt the amendment, it will appear that all the branches of the government are agreed in sentiment. If we reject it, what will it proclaim less than imbecility and discord? What will faction interpret it to import short of this? "The President and Senate have denounced the self-created societies alluded to in the speech, and this House has stepped forward for their protection." Besides the unspeakable dishonour of this patronage, is it not rekindling the firebrands of sedition? Is it not unchaining the demon of anarchy? Few as the apologists of the clubs have been, the solemnity and perseverance of their appeal to principles, demand for it an examination.

"The right to form political clubs has been urged, as if it had been denied. It is not, however, the right to meet; it is the abuse of the right, after they have met, that is charged upon them. Town meetings are authorized by law, yet they may be called for seditious or treasonable purposes. The legal right of the voters in that case would be an aggravation, not an excuse for the offence. But if persons meet in a club with an intent to obstruct the laws, their meeting is no longer innocent or legal; it is a crime. The necessity for forming clubs has been alleged with some plausibility in favour of all the states except New England, because town-meetings are little known and not practicable in a thinly settled country. (Mr. Ames here alluded to what had been said by Mr. Parker). But if people have grievances, are they to be brought to a knowledge of them only by clubs? Clubs may find out more complaints against the laws, than the sufferers themselves had dreamed of. The number of those which a man will learn from his own and his neighbour's experience,

rience, will be quite sufficient for every salutary purpose of reform in the laws, or of relief to the citizens. He may petition Congress; his own representative will not fail to enforce, or, at least, to present and explain his memorial. As a juror, he applies the law; as an elector he effectually controuls the legislators. A really aggrieved man will be sure of sympathy, and assistance, within this body, and with the public. The most zealous advocate of clubs may think them useful, but he will not insist on their being indispensably so. The plea for their usefulness seems to rest on their advantage of meeting for political information. The absurdity of this pretence could be exposed in a variety of views. I shall decline, said Mr. Ames, a detailed consideration of the topic. I would just ask, however, whether the most inflamed party men, who usually lead the clubs, are the best organs of authentic information? whether they meet in darkness; whether they hide their names, their numbers, and their doings, whether they shut their doors to admit information? A laudable zeal for inquiry needs not shun those who could satisfy it; it needs not blush in the day-light. With open doors and unlimited freedom of debate, political knowledge might be introduced ever among the intruders. But, instead of exposing their affected pursuit of information, it will be enough to shew hereafter what they actually spread among the people; whether it is information, or, in the words of the President, "jealousies, suspicions and accusations of the government." Whether, disregarding the truth, they have not fomented the daring outrages against social order and the authority of the laws. (Vide the President's Speech). They have arrogantly pretended sometimes to be the people, and sometimes the guardians, the champions of the people. They affect to feel more zeal for

a popular government, and to enforce more respect for republican principles, than the real representatives are admitted to entertain. Let us see whether they are set up for the people, or in opposition to them, and their institution. Will any reflecting person suppose, for a moment, that this great people, so widely extended, so actively employed, could form a common will and make that will law, in their individual capacity, and without representation? They could not. Will clubs avail them as a substitute for representation? A few hundred persons only are members of clubs, and if they should act for the others, it would be an usurpation, and the power of the few over the many, in every view, infinitely worse than sedition itself will represent this government."

"To avoid this difficulty shall the whole people be classed into clubs? Shall every six miles square be formed into a club of sovereignty? Thus we should guard against the abuse of trust, because we should delegate none, but every man might go and do his business in his own person. We might thus form ten or twenty thousand democracies, as pure and simple as the most disorganizing spirit could sigh for. But what could keep this fair horizon unclouded? What could prevent the whirlwinds and fires of discord, intestine and foreign, from scattering and consuming these fritters and rags of the society, like the dry leaves in autumn. Without respectability, without safety, without tranquillity, they would be like so many caves of Eolus, where the imprisoned storms were said to struggle for a vent. If we look at Greece, so famed for letters and more for misery, we shall see that her ferocious liberty made her petty commonwealths wolf dens. That liberty, which poetry represents as a goddess, history describes as a cannibal. Representative government, therefore, is so far from being
a sacri-

a sacrifice of our rights, that it is their security; it is the only practicable mode for a great people to exercise or have any rights. It puts them into full possession of the utmost exercise of them. By clubs will they have something more than all? Will such institutions operate to augment, to secure, or to enforce their rights, or just the contrary? Knowledge and truth will be friendly to such a government, and that in return will be friendly to them. Is it possible for any to be so deluded as to suppose that the over zeal for government, on the part of the supporters of this amendment, would prompt them to desire or attempt the destruction of the liberty of speech, or the genuine freedom of the press? Impossible! That would be putting out the eyes of the government which we are so jealous to maintain. The abuses of these privileges may embarrass and disturb our present system; but if they were abolished, the government must be changed. No friend, therefore, of the constitution could harbour the wish to produce the consequences which it is insinuated, are intended to ensue. Mr. Ames resumed the remark that the government rests on the enlightened patriotism of an orderly and moral body of citizens. Let the advocates of monarchy boast that ignorance may be made to sleep in chains; that even corruption and vice may be enlisted as auxiliaries of the public order. It is, however, a subject of exultation and confidence that such citizens as we represent, so enlightened, so generally virtuous, and uncorrupted, under the present mild republican system, practicably are safe, nay more, it is evidently the only system that is adapted to the American state of society. But such a system combines within itself two indestructible elements of destruction, two enemies with whom it must conflict for ever; whom it may disarm, but can never pacify, vice and ignorance.

rance. Those who do not understand their rights, will despise, or confound them with wrongs ; and those, whose turbulence and licentiousness find restraints in equal laws, will seek gratification by evasions or combinations to over-awe or resist them."

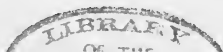
"A government that protects property, and cherishes virtue, will of course have vice and prodigality for its foes, because it will be compelled to abridge their liberty, to prevent their invading the rights of other citizens. The virtuous and the enlightened will cling to a republican government, because, it is congenial, no less with their feelings, than their rights. The licentious and the profligate are ever ready for confusion, which might give them every thing, while laws and order deny them every thing. The ambitious and desperate, by combinations, acquire more power and influence than their fellow citizens ; the credulous, the ignorant, the rash, and violent, are drawn by artifice, or led by character, to join these confederacies. The more free the government, the more certain they are to grow up ; for where there is no liberty at all, this abuse of it will not be seen. Once formed into bodies, they have a spirit of corps, and are propelled into errors and excesses, without shame or reflection. A spirit grows up in their progress, and every disappointment makes them more loose, as to the means, and every success, more and more immoderate in the objects of their attempts. Calumny is one of those means. Those whom they cannot punish or controul, they can vilify ; they can make suspicion go where their force could not reach, and by rumours and falsehoods, multiply enemies against their enemies. They become formidable, and they retaliate upon the magistrates, those fears which the laws have inspired them with. The execution of the laws is not accomplished without effort, without hazard. Instead of mildness,

ness, of mutual confidence ; instead of the laws almost executing themselves, more rigour is demanded in the framing, more force to secure the operation of the laws. The clubs, and turbulent combinations exercising the resisting power, it is obvious that government will need more force, and more will then be given to it. Thus it appears, that instead of lightening the weight of authority, it will acquire a new *momentum* from the clubs and combinations formed to resist it. Turbulent men, embodied into hosts, will call for more energy to suppress them, than if the discontented remained unembodied. Disturbances fomented from time to time, may unhappily change the mild principles of the system, and the little finger, then, may be found heavier than the whole hand of the present government. For if the clubs and the government should both subsist, tranquillity would be out of the question. The continual contest of one organized body against another, would produce the alternate extremes of anarchy, and excessive rigour of government. If the clubs prevail, they will be the government, and the more secure for having become so by a victory over the existing authorities. In every aspect of the discussion, the societies formed to controul and vilify a republican government, are hateful. They not only of necessity make it more rigorous, but they intend, with a fatal energy, to make it corrupt. By perverting the truth, and spreading jealousy and intrigue throughout the land, they compel the rulers to depend on new supports. The usurping clubs offer to faction within these doors the means of carrying every point without. A corrupt understanding is produced between them. The power of the clubs will prevail even here, and that of the people will proportionably decline. The clubs echo the language of their protectors here ; truth, virtue, and patriotism are

no longer principles, but names for electioneering jugglers to deceive with. Calumny will assimilate to itself the objects it falls on. It will persecute the man who does his duty : it will take away the reward of virtue, and bestow praise only upon the tools of faction. By betraying his trust, a man may then expect the support of the powerful combinations opposed to the government. By faithfully adhering to it, he encounters persecution. He finds neither refuge nor consolation with the public, who become at length so corrupted as to think virtue in a public station incredible, because it would be, in their opinion, folly. The indiscriminate jealousy which is diffused from the clubs, tends no less to corrupt the suspicious than the suspected. It poisons confidence, which is no less the incitement than the recompence of public services. It lowers the standard of action. These observations, which seem to be founded on theory, unfortunately bear the stamp of experience. History abounds with the proofs. Never was there a wise and free republic, which was exempt from this inveterate malady. We can find a parallel for the brightest worthies of Greece, as well as for their calumniators. In that country, as well as in this, the assassins of character abounded. While slander is credited only by its inventors, it is easy for a man to maintain the serenity of his contempt for both. But when it is adopted by the public, few are hardy enough to despise the public opinion ; he that pretends to do so is a hypocrite, and if he really does so, he is a wretch. This precious property is one of the first objects of invasion, and the combinations alluded to, are well adapted, and actively employed to destroy it. It is a plausible opinion, that if the government is not grossly defective in its form, or corrupt in its administration, animosities against it will not exist. This corresponds

ponds neither with sound sense nor experience. Equal laws are the very grievances of these petty tyrants, who combine together to engross more than equal power and privileges. When power is conferred exclusively upon the worthy, the profligate and ambitious are driven to despair of success, by any methods that the worthy would adopt. The more pure and free the government, the more certainly will the worst men it protects and restrains become its implacable enemies; and such men have ever been the foes of republics. The outcasts from society, those who singly are shunned because infamy has smitten them with leprosy, men who are scored with worse than plague sores, are the first to combine against it. And such men have the front to preach purity of principles, and reformation. Such men will meet in darkness and perform incantations against liberty; there they will gather to medicate their poisons, to whet their daggers, to utter their blasphemies against liberty, and may proceed again to shout from that gallery, or may collect with cannon at this door, to perpetrate sacrilege here in her very sanctuary. It will be asked, what remedy for this evil? I answer no violent one. The gentle power of opinion, I flatter myself, will prove sufficient among our citizens who have sense, morals, and property. The hypocrisy of the clubs will be unmasked, and the public scorn, without touching their persons or property, will frown them into nothing. Mr. Ames next proceeded to advert more particularly to facts. He made mention of the Jesuits, who were banished for becoming a club against the European governments. He mentioned that Jacobins also, who *performed well* in pulling down the old government, * but because they would continue

* Mr. Ames is as good a man as a *republican* can be, but this part of his speech is a strong proof of the inextinguishable



pulling down the new one, as such clubs ever will, had their hall locked up by Legendre. *Our committees in 1774 and 1775, were efficient instruments to pull down the British government.** Yet, although they were friendly to our own, *the people laid them aside as soon as they wished to build up instead of pulling down†.* If our government were to be demolished, clubs would be a powerful means of doing it, and the people may chuse to countenance them at that time. But as they chuse no such thing at present, they will discountenance them. The Cincinnati were personally worthy men, officers of the most deserving army that ever triumphed. Yet, although they were friendly to the government, and possessed the confidence of the citizens by the most brilliant titles, the nature of their institution raised a jealousy and ferment. The state legislatures

ble hatred, that all republicans bear to monarchical government. Louis, poor Louis the 16th, was stiled the "Great and Good Ally" by the Congress of America; and that Congress certainly owed it to him that they were not (some of them at least) hanged as traitors to their king. Yet this same Congress rejoices at his overthrow, and one of its very best members, extols even the Jacobins, because they were the principal actors in the scene of dilapidation.

* This is a valuable fact for *the historian*. Yes, it was, indeed, the *committees*, the tyrannical, the cruel committees, that were the "efficient instruments to pull down the British Government in America," and not *the people in general*, as it has been falsely asserted. Nineteen out of twenty of the people were opposed to the declaration of Independence; but, the Whig Committees, which were chiefly composed of men deeply in debt to British Merchants, persecuted the body of the nation into silence.

† No, Sir, the *people*, as you call them, did *not* lay committees aside, as the subject of your debate clearly proves. You and your compeers, who have been raised upon the ruins of the British Government by the instrumentality of committees; *you*, indeed, wish to lay those committees, just as we always knock knock down the scaffolding the moment our building is completed.

condemned it, as setting up a government within a government. What then are we to say of clubs? Facts have been rather imprudently called for, and let them be examined. The democratic society of Vermont, state, as one reason for their establishment, the unmerited abuse with which the public papers have so often teemed against the minister of our only ally. This was long after Genet's whole correspondence had been published, and after France had unequivocally disapproved of his conduct."

" Agreeable to a previous notification, there met at Pittsburg, on the 21st of August, a number of persons, stiling themselves, " A Meeting of Sundry
" Inhabitants of the Western Counties of Pennsylv-
" vania." This meeting entered into resolutions, not less exceptionable than those of its predecessors. The preamble suggests, that a tax on spirituous liquors is unjust in itself, and oppressive upon the poor; that internal taxes upon consumption must, in the end, destroy the liberties of the country into which they are introduced; that the law in question, from certain local circumstances, which are specified, would bring immediate distress and ruin upon the western country; and concludes with the sentiment, that they think it their duty to persist in remonstrances to Congress, and in every other legal measure that may obstruct the operation of the law. The resolutions then proceed, first, to appoint a committee to prepare, and cause to be presented to Congress, an address, stating objections to the law, and praying for its repeal. Secondly, to appoint committees of correspondence for Washington, Fayette, and Alleghany, charged to correspond together, and with such committees as should be appointed for the same purpose, in the county of Westmoreland, or with any committees of a similar nature, that might be appointed in other parts of the United States; and also, if found necessary, to call

call together, either general meetings of the people, in their respective counties, or conferences of the several committees ; and lastly, to declare, that they will in future consider those who hold offices for the collection of the duty, as unworthy of their friendship ; that they will have no intercourse, no dealings with them ; will withdraw from them every assistance ; withhold all the comforts of life, which depend upon those duties, that as men and fellow citizens they owe to each other ; and will, upon all occasions, treat them with contempt ; earnestly recommending it to the people at large, to follow the same line of conduct towards them. He mentioned the shameful transaction at Lexington in Kentucky, where Mr. Jay was burned in effigy. It was painful, he said, thus to dwell on the dishonour of the country, but it was already published."

Extract from the New-York Journal, 2d Aug. 1794.

" The late appointment of John Jay, as Envoy
 " Extraordinary to the Court of London, brought
 " so strongly to the recollection of the people of
 " this country his former iniquitious attempt to
 " barter away their most valuable right, that they
 " could not refrain from openly testifying their ab-
 " horrence of the man, whose appointment, at this
 " critical period of their affairs, they consider as
 " tragically ominous. Although they had not for-
 " gotten, nor even faintly remembered, his former
 " act of treason against them ; yet they hoped,
 " from the office he filled, he was in as harmless a
 " situation as he could be placed ; and that no
 " effort of power or policy could drag him forward,
 " so long as he held his office, and set him once
 " more to chaffering with our rights. With these
 " impressions, a number of respectable citizens, of
 " this

“ this place and its vicinity, on Saturday last,
 “ ordered a likeness of this evil genius of western
 “ America to be made, which was soon well exe-
 “ cuted. At the appointed hour, he was ushered
 “ forth from a barber’s shop, amidst the shouts of
 “ the people, dressed in a courtly manner, and
 “ placed erect on the platform of the pillory. In
 “ his right hand he held uplifted a rod of iron; in
 “ his left, he held extended, Swift’s last speech in
 “ Congress, on the subject of British depredation;
 “ on one side of which was written,

“ *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.* Juv. Sat. iv. 33.

“ No man e’er reached the heights of vice at first.”

“ And on the other,

“ ———non deficit alter. VIRG. *Æn.* 6.

“ A second is not wanting.”

“ About his neck was suspended by a hempen
 “ string, Adams’s defence of the American Consti-
 “ tutions; on the cover of which was written,

“ *Scribere jusset aurum.* Ov. Ep.

“ Gold bade me write.”

“ After exhibiting him in this condition for some
 “ time, he was ordered to be guillotined, which
 “ was soon dexterously executed, and a flame in-
 “ stantly applied to him, which finding its way to
 “ a quantity of powder, which was lodged in his
 “ body, produced such an explosion, that after it
 “ there was scarcely to be found a particle of the
 “ *disjecta membra Plenipo.*”

“ The Club of Charleston, South Carolina, so-
 “ licited an adoption of the Jacobin Club at Paris.
 “ They also addressed Consul Margourit, who had
 “ actually granted commissions to privateers, in
 “ defiance of the President’s proclamation of neu-
 “ trality.”

Extract from the Gazette Nationale, or Moniteur Universel, No. 270.

JACOBIN SOCIETY.

October, 1793.

“ COUPE DE LOISE, in the Chair.

“ The Republican Society of Charleston, in Carolina, one of the United States of America, demand of the Jacobin Club its adoption.”

“ *Hauthier.* “ We have spilt our blood for the establishment of American liberty. I think that the Americans ought to do the same for us, before we grant them adoption.”

“ *A Citizen.* “ Before engaging them to intermeddle in our way, it is necessary to understand one another, to come to an agreement with them. I do not see, then, a more efficacious way for the previous reunion, than an adoption of their society.”

“ *Collot d'Herbois* after making some general observations, says, “ Nevertheless, we should not neglect the advantages which may arise from this advance. I conclude that we agree to this adoption.”

“ The club of Pinckney district, in Carolina, had voted in favour of war, and against paying taxes, because they were too far from the market. A Virginia club had voted an alteration in the Constitution, in order that an amendment might prevent the President being again eligible. Is proof necessary to those who remember the state of this city last spring? Are the resolves of the clubs of this place and New-York forgotten? Could outrage and audacity be expected to venture further? One con-

condemned the excise as odious and tyrannical; the other, enforcing that sentiment, published its condemnation of Mr. Jay's mission of peace. Did not all of them arraign the whole government, reprobate the whole system of laws; charge the breach of the Constitution upon the President, and unspeakable turpitude on the administration; as well as on this body? Surely Americans, feeling as they ought; for the honour, and peace, and safety of their country, cannot forget these excesses; they cannot remember them in any manner which my reprobation could enforce."

Extract from the Proceedings of a Meeting of the Delegates, from the Election Districts of Alleghany County, held at Pittsburg, April 1st. Thomas Morton in the Chair.

" At this juncture we have France to assist us;
 " who, should we now take a part, will not fail to
 " stand by us, until Canada is independent of
 " Britain, and the instigators of Indian hostilities
 " are removed; and should we lie by, while France
 " is struggling for her liberties; it cannot be sup-
 " posed that her republic will embark in a war on
 " our account, after she shall have been victorious.
 " It was for this reason, that though we approved
 " of the conduct of the President and the judi-
 " cary of the United States, in their endeavours to
 " preserve peace, and an impartial neutrality, until
 " the sense of the nation had been taken on the
 " necessity of retaliation, by actually declaring
 " war, yet, now that the Congress has been
 " convened, and such just grounds exist, we
 " are weary of their tardiness, in coming forward
 " to measures of reprisal. But we have observed,
 " with great pain, that our councils want the in-
 " tegrity

“tegrity or spirit of republicans. This we attribute to the pernicious influence of stockholders, or their subordinates; and our minds feel this with so much indignancy, that we are almost ready to wish for a state of revolution and the guillotine of France for a short space, in order to inflict punishment on the miscreants that enervate and disgrace our government.”

“If the black charges against Congress and the whole government, were true, they ought to fly to arms. They ought to pull down this tower of iniquity, so as not to leave one stone upon another. The deluded western people believed them true, and acted accordingly. The great mass of the discontented, therefore, are to be pitied, for the ignorance and credulity which made them the dupes of the clubs. They thought they were doing God and their country service, by cleansing this Augean stable of its filth. It was not oppression that roused them to arms, as some would insinuate; for their country flourishes wonderfully. It was an insurrection, raised by the wicked arts of faction. A moment, however, is due to the peculiar falsity of two of the slanders on this body. The fears of simple citizens have been startled with the fable, that there is a monarchy party in this house and the other. Look round, Sir, said Mr. Ames, if you please, and decide whether there is one man, who is not principled as a republican; who does not think such a form adapted to our people, and our people to it, and who would not shed his blood and spend his last shilling, against the introduction of monarchy? I persuade myself, Sir, there is not even one man here, whom any other member even thinks in his heart, is to be suspected on that head.”

“The other slander, which has contributed to kindle a civil war, is the paper nobility in Congress; that the taxes are voted for the sake, and carried

carried solely by the strength of those who put the proceeds in their pockets.* Is there a word of truth in this? On the contrary, there are probably not ten members who have any interest in the funds, and that interest is very inconsiderable. Is it probable, therefore, that when the citizens have been led by calumny and lies to despise their government and its ministers, to dread and to hate it, and all concerned in it, that the insurrection is not owing to the men and the societies, who have invented or confirmed, and diffused these slanders? When the rage of these passions broke out into civil war, are those incendiaries innocent, who inspired that rage, who nourished it from time to time with fresh combustibles, and who at last fanned it into an open flame? The fact is too notorious for any man even to pretend ignorance, that the insurgents were encouraged to take arms, by the delusive hope that the militia would not turn out against them. Had they believed that the citizens were as firm for government, as to their immortal honour they have shewn that they are, would the folly or desperation of the western peo-

* In a speech, containing such striking proofs of gross ignorance, envy, malice, and every species of political turpitude, in the *citizens*, we could, methinks, have very well dispensed with the orator's sarcasms on *the ignorance of royalists*; and still better could we have dispensed with his exultation at the "enlightened, "virtuous, and uncorrupted" state of his constituents. Such an exultation appears extremely ridiculous in a speech, from the tenor of which any impartial foreigner would conclude, that no contemptible proportion of the *citizens* were either rogues or fools.—It is astonishing that such a man as Mr. Ames, who has very few equals in the United States, either as to talents or integrity, and who cares as little for the mob as any man living; it is something truly astonishing, that such a man as this should condescend to flatter the people in a mass, and that, too, at a time when they were running headlong into every folly and vice that presented itself to them! But, it was the fashion of the day, and Mr. A. caught it like other people.

ple have proceeded to arms? They would not. But the self-made societies had published, that the rulers were tyrants, usurpers, and plunderers, abhorred by the people, who would soon hurl them down. Let us ask a moment's pause, to reflect what would have been the fate of America, if these parricide clubs had really proceeded in poisoning the public mind, as completely as they attempted to do. The western insurgents would have found armies, not to suppress, but to assist them. This fair edifice of liberty, the palladium of our country, *the world's hope*,* would have crumbled to powder."

" Mr. Ames then proceeded to notice some of the observations which had been urged against the motion: He asked, whether, in a point that so nearly concerned truth and duty, the committee could conciliate, that is, deny the truth and betray their duty. The proposition stated by the President was true, and had been proved to be so. Shall our silence suppress or contradict the dictates of this conviction? It is urged that we have no right to pass this vote; a singular objection, since those who made it are consenting to the adoption of the clause, to which the words self-created societies are moved to be added. That clause is as improper, and as unconstitutional a declaration as the amendment. Is it possible that those are serious in this objection, who voted applause to general Wayne and his gallant army? Is this House a court martial to try them, if they had done ill, instead of well? Had the state legislatures no right to pass votes respecting the Cincinnati? Then we have no right to answer the speech at all, as the

* If Mr. Ames had to speak on this subject *now*, I imagine that he would express himself somewhat differently.

Constitution is silent on that head. But are gentlemen who profess so much attachment to the people and their rights, disposed to abolish one of the most signal, the character of this House, as the grand inquest of the nation; as those, who are not only to impeach those who perpetrate offence, but to watch and give the alarm for the prevention of such attempts? We are asked, with some pathos, will you punish clubs with your censure, unheard, untried, confounding the innocent with the guilty? Censure is not punishment unless it is merited; for we merely allude to certain self-created societies, which have disregarded the truth, and fomented the outrages against the laws. Those which have been innocent will remain uncensured. It is said, worthy men belong to those clubs. They may be, as men, not wanting in merit, but when they join societies which are employed to foment outrages against the laws, they are no longer innocent. They become bad citizens. If innocence happens to stray into such company, it is lost. The men really good will quit such connections; and it is a fact, that the most respected of those who are said to belong to them, have long ago renounced them. Honest, credulous men may be drawn into favour very bad designs; but so far as they do it, they deserve the reproach with this vote contains, that of being unworthy citizens. If the worst men in society have led the most credulous and inconsiderate astray, the latter will undoubtedly come to reflection the sooner for an appeal to their sense of duty. This appeal is made in terms which truth justifies, and which apply only to those who have been criminal. It is said that this vote will raise up the clubs into importance. One member has even solemnly warned us against the awakening of their resentments. It is not clear to my understanding, said Mr. Ames, how all the

consequences which have been predicted from this vote will be accomplished. This is a breach of right, a crushing of those free societies by our censure. It is putting them down, and yet we are warned that it is raising them up, and making them stronger than this government. The friends of the motion are said not to agree in the principle of their defence of it; and therefore it is boldly affirmed that they have no principle. Is there any difficulty in retorting this invective? If this vote will call the attention of the people of America to the subject so much the better. The truth will, no doubt, be sought and found at last, and with such an enlightened public, I expect the result will be made with its usual good sense; that the self-created societies described in the clause, are calculated to destroy a free government; that they will certainly destroy its tranquillity and harmony, and greatly corrupt the integrity of the rulers, and the morals of the people.

“In the course of his remarks, Mr. Ames strongly insisted that the vote was not indefinite in its terms. Societies were not reprobated because they were self-made, nor because they were political societies. Every body as readily admitted that they might be innocent, as that they have been greatly imprudent. It is such societies as have been regardless of the truth, and have fomented the outrages against the law, &c. Nor is the intention of this amendment to flatter the President, as it has been intimated. He surely has little need of our praise on any personal account. This late signal act of duty is already with his grateful country, with faithful history: nor is it in our power, or in those of any offended self-created societies to impair that tribute which will be offered to him. As little ground is there for saying that it is intended to stifle the freedom of speech and of the press;
since

since the very persons who charge this, tell us that it will have the contrary effect. This question is, simply, will you support your chief magistrate? Our vote does not go merely to one man and to his feelings. It goes to the trust. When clubs are arrayed against your government, and your chief magistrate decidedly arrays the militia to suppress their insurrection, will you countenance or discountenance the officer? Will you ever suffer this House, the country, or even one seditious man in it, to question for an instant, whether your approbation and co-operation will be less prompt and cordial than his efforts to support the laws? Is it safe, is it honourable, to make a precedent, and that no less solemn than humiliating, which will authorize, which will compel every future President to doubt whether you will approve him or the clubs? The President now in office, would doubtless do his duty promptly, and with decision in such a case. But can you expect it of human nature? and if you could, would you put it at risk, whether in future a President shall balance between his duty and his fear of your censure? The danger is, that a chief magistrate, elective as ours is, will temporize, will delay, will put the laws into treaty with offenders, and will even ensure a civil war, perhaps the loss of our free government, by the want of proper energy to quench the first sparks. You ought therefore, on every occasion, to shew the most cordial support of the executive in support of the laws. This is the occasion. If it is dangerous to liberty, against right and justice, against truth and decency, to adopt the amendment, as it has been argued, then the President and Senate have done all this. Mr. Ames concluded with saying, that in a speech so long, containing such various matter, and so rapidly delivered, he might have dropped many observations in an incorrect state.

He

He relied on the candour of the House, and of his opponents, for the interpretation of them."

In spite, however, of the eloquence of Mr. Ames, and those who spoke on the same side, the Democrats carried their point, and the *self created societies* were encouraged to tell the people, that, they had, indeed, been denounced by the President and Senate, but that the lower House, the only true representatives of the people, had refused to join in the denunciation.

The Democratic Society of New-York (14. Jan. 1795.) made a solemn protest against the conduct of the President and Senate in this respect, in which protest they declare, that, "in every free state, the *sovereignty is vested in the people*, and *each individual is at once a LEGISLATOR and a SOVEREIGN*."—They next state, that "all public functionaries are amenable to society for the faithful discharge of their respective functions; but that the same reason which renders it indispensable for the *sovereign* to delegate suitable organs for the manifestation of his will, renders equally impossible, in his collective capacity, the exercise of his revisionary powers. As, therefore, the responsibility of public functionaries presupposes a right of investigation into their proceedings, this right appertains to *individuals*, otherwise it would be incapable of exercise. It appertains also to *every collection of individuals*, because every association must comprehend all the privileges and properties appertaining to the members by whom it is composed."—Hence they deduced the right of the Democratic Societies to meet, and to censure and oppose the government in any manner they pleased; insisting, at the same time, that, as these Societies were *acting in their*

their capacity of sovereign, they were amenable to no authority on earth, much less to that with which they had invested their own servants, the President and Senate.

This protest was ushered into the world under the auspices of *David Gelston*, the President of the Society, and, it must be confessed, that Citizen Gelston had gone to the bottom of the subject; for, absurd, wild, and ridiculous, as his premises certainly are, his deductions are candid and correct. Only allow him, that *the sovereignty is vested in the people*, and I will engage, that he shall prove to you (after a week's study,) that neither the people, nor any one of them (except he be in office,) can never be guilty of sedition, treason, or rebellion; for, he will tell you, that it is very clear, that *Sovereigns cannot rebel against themselves*. If you should oppose him with your doctrine of *Majorities*, he will laugh at you. He will ask you where you got your mongrel theory, which, after declaring that all men are born *free and equal*, and that their rights are *imprescriptible and unalienable*, arbitrarily *gives to a thousand persons the right of ruling nine hundred and ninety nine against their will!* He will ask you, with a sneer, whether this theory, is found in *nature*, in reason, or in the tyrant's plea, *necessity*. Citizen Gelston will smile at Mr. Ames's talking about the sovereignty of the people, and afterwards calling the doctrine of majorities the "vital principle of the constitution."

With such a striking proof before his eyes of the dangerous tendency of the principles, on which the constitution is built, it was truly surprising to hear the following remark from such a man as Mr. Dexter. "If," said he in the above debate, "if we should fail in maintaining our government, we shall be fairly considered to have made an experiment, not only for ourselves, but for the world; which

“ which will prove, that *the beautiful theory of civil freedom is not practicable by man.*”—Softly, Mr. Dexter ! Be not in pain for “ *the world,*” on this score ; for, Sir, if your government should not last ten days longer, “ the beautiful theory of *civil freedom*” will be practised in many parts of the world. The world, Sir, is not looking to America to behold the result of her experiments. Civil freedom was practised long before your little pamphlet, called the Constitution, was written, and it will continue to be practised, I trust, after that pamphlet shall be out of print, and amongst the subjects, too, of those whom you have been pleased to style “ *ermined monsters.*”

The other part of the speech, which served to call forth the strength of the parties, was that in which the President alludes to his policy, in the negotiations with foreign nations. He told the house, “ that his policy in foreign transactions, had been “ to cultivate peace with all the world, to observe “ treaties with pure and absolute faith, to check “ every deviation from the line of impartiality, to “ explain what had been misapprehended, and to “ correct what had been injurious to any nation.”

The answer, as drafted by the committee, let this part of the speech pass unnoticed. Mr. Madison, therefore, moved to insert the following words : “ Solicitous as we also are for the preservation of “ peace with all nations, we cannot otherwise than “ warmly approve of *a* policy in our foreign trans- “ actions, which never loses sight of that blessing.” This amendment would have passed without a division, but the Federal members perceived, that, by the use of the *indefinite* article, Madison meant not only to avoid giving any approbation *to the policy which the President had pursued with regard to*
Great

Great Britain, but to intimate a doubt respecting the soundness of that policy, they opposed it, and made a motion for inserting the following amendment in its stead: "*Your* policy in our foreign transactions, as it shews an ardent disposition for peace, has our hearty approbation."

A war now began between the *article* and the *pro-noun*, which lasted *three days*, and which terminated at last in the victory of neither, both amendments being laid aside, and the speech, as to this point, being left unanswered.

Trifling as the subject appeared to be, very few debates were ever productive of more warmth. It was, in fact, the first skirmish of the legislative war respecting the British Treaty. Both parties, for a time, kept their temper; each carefully avoided any allusion to what both had in their eye: so that, during the first day, any one, unacquainted with the real grounds of the dispute, would have looked upon the House of Representatives as an assembly of trifling pedagogues. The transactions with no particular nation were alluded to; none of the nations were named; all the observations relating to foreign nations were couched in general terms; the members, on both sides, seemed to vie with each other on this occasion, in practising the virtue of forbearance. At last, however, the furious *Nicholas*, unable to contain himself any longer, broke out on Mr. Jay and his mission to the court of London. "I am," said he, "unacquainted with the powers and instructions given to Mr. Jay, and shall not give my approbation of what I know nothing about." He was followed, in the same strain by Dayton, who joined the Sans-Culottes on this occasion, because he disapproved of the mission of Mr. Jay altogether; it defeated his *sequestration* project, and he foresaw that it would produce a state of things in which he would have no opportunity for gratifying

gratifying his implacable resentment against Great Britain. How that nation had particularly offended him it would be in vain to attempt a conjecture. His insolent haughtiness might, perhaps, sometime or other, have met with rebuke from some subject of the king, and this would have been cause sufficient for his wishing destruction to the whole nation. Dayton is an excellent speaker, a man of great talents, both natural and acquired; but his very countenance proclaims him proud, conceited, and vindictive. He was at this time angling (as it is called) for the post of Speaker, and this might be an inducement for him to vote with both parties alternately. In all such bodies as the House of Representatives, a man must act a base trimming part to obtain any post that is in their gift. To have the suffrages of both parties, he must have the good will of neither! Thus it is, too, in a great many elections out of doors. The man in whom no individual and no party has confidence, frequently experiences an unanimous election!—This is another pretty good proof of the excellence of a *government by Majorities*.

As I said before, the amendment, introduced by Madison, was at last left out, and the answer observed silence on the subject of the negotiation with Great Britain, as well as on that of the Democratic Societies, and thus, *after ten days debate*, it was delivered to the President in nearly the same terms, which it contained when first reported to the House.

The laws that were passed, during this session, were all, except one, of a nature to excite but little attention in the public. That one, however, called forth the strength of the parties. I allude to the *act for establishing an uniform rule of Naturalization*.

It

It had long been a favourite policy with the United States, and a policy in which all parties concurred, to encourage, *by all means whatever*, the emigration of foreigners. It is indeed, a maxim, that the population of a state, and not its extent of territory, constitutes its strength; but, this maxim, like most others, will not always hold good if taken in an unqualified sense; because the *quality* of the population ought to be attended to as well as its *quantity*, and this consideration seems never to have entered into the minds of the short-sighted politicians of America. They looked at the sum total of their census, and never troubled themselves about the principles, moral or political, of the units that composed it. We should laugh most heartily at a farmer, were he, in stating the increase of his stock, to include the foxes and the wolves; yet such is precisely the statement of those who were, and who yet are, boasting of the increase of the population of these States.

Since the end of the revolutionary war, every art that could be devised had been employed to procure the emigration of foreigners. There were established *Population Societies*, *Emigration Societies*, and other associations, whose sole object was to correspond with people in foreign countries (particularly the dominions of Great Britain,) and bring their inhabitants hither. Besides these, the land jobbers, a numerous race of "swindlers upon a broad scale," as Giles called them, were let loose upon Europe. The misery that these people have occasioned is beyond all conception. Hundreds and thousands of men have been induced to sell their comfortable little farms in England, Scotland, and Ireland, from a hope of becoming great men in America. When an unsuspecting man is told, that by removing across the Atlantic, he can
buy

buy for a mere trifle, ten thousand acres of land, with fine woods and meadows, watered by beautiful streams, where he will have no taxes nor tithes to pay, and no game laws to observe. When the poor fellow is told this, his snug dwelling and his fertile closes, hitherto the source of his happiness and the boundary of his wishes, become despicable in his sight ! he grows out of conceit with them, and, in his haste towards the scene of his future greatness, he throws them away for half their value. Little does he think of the fate that attends him. Little does he dream that the fair domain, which he has seen only on paper, is situated in the moon, or regions almost as inaccessible ; and that, should he ever have the misfortune to fix his eyes on it, he must, perhaps, lose his all in law suits to procure him possession. Little does he imagine, that a night's lodging and a breakfast, after landing, will cost him the amount of a month's living in England, or that, to get him a miserable horse and utensils to begin clearing his land, will require more money than his domain would sell for. Thousands of ruined Emigrants of this description are now in the United States. It is impossible that such men should be *contented* ; it is impossible that they should love the country, or care a farthing about the government. The very best you can expect of them is *indifference*.

But, this is not the class of Emigrants, from whom the most danger is to be apprehended. These broken hearted mortals are, indeed, a dead weight upon the government, but a thousand of them together are not so dangerous, as one of the lively, active, turbulent villains, who, without leaving a sigh behind them, come hither in quest of political adventures. Of these one half are driven from home, either by their creditors, or by criminal prosecutions ;

prosecutions ; and they are fit for every species of wickedness. A hatred to all lawful controul is their general characteristic ; and here they find a faction ready to receive them with open arms. There never was a time, when it was not impolitic to admit of the importation of these wretches, much more was it impolitic to *encourage*, to *invite*, to *inveigle* them to come. But, the bad policy of this line of conduct did not appear so evident till since the beginning of the present war. During the years 1793 and 1794, the disaffected came to these shores in thousands. Every vessel from the British European dominions was freighted with them. Some of the most intelligent amongst them became conspicuous demagogues, and, as it only required the payment of a sixpenny tax to become a voter, the emigration soon began to have an alarming influence in the elections. It was not uncommon to see a cargo of Irish land at Newcastle, beg their way up to Philadelphia, and vote for legislators in ten days afterwards.

The Federal party were alarmed at this sans-culotte inundation, and this alarm it was that gave rise to the naturalization bill, which was brought into the House of Representatives, and was, after much debate, passed into a law on the 29th of January, 1795. As this law is very frequently referred to, and as it is, besides, a curious specimen of the effects of Congressional compromising, I shall insert it at length, previous to the remarks that I think it necessary to make on the debate which it occasioned, and on the law itself.

“ An Act to establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and to repeal the Act heretofore passed on that Subject.”

“ FOR carrying into complete effect, the power given by the Constitution, to establish an uniform rule of Naturalization throughout the United States.”

SEC. I. *BE it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,* That any alien, being a free white person may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States, or any of them, on the following conditions, and not otherwise :”

“ First, He shall have declared on oath or affirmation, before the supreme, superior, district or circuit court of some one of the states, or of the territories north-west or south of the river Ohio, or a circuit or district court of the United States, three years, at least, before his admission, that it was, bona fide, his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and to renounce for ever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty whatever, and particularly, by name, the prince, potentate, state or sovereignty whereof such alien may, at the time, be a citizen or subject.”

“ Secondly, He shall, at the time of his application to be admitted, declare on oath or affirmation, before some one of the courts aforesaid, that he has resided within the United States, five years at least, and within the state or territory, where such court is at the time held, one year at least ; that he will support the Constitution of the United States ; and that he doth absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign prince,

prince, potentate, state or sovereignty whatever, and particularly by name, the prince, potentate, state or sovereignty, whereof he was before a citizen or subject; which proceedings shall be recorded by the clerk of the court."

"Thirdly, The court admitting such alien, shall be satisfied that he has resided within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States five years; and it shall further appear to their satisfaction, that during that time, he has behaved as a man of a good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same."

"Fourthly, In case the alien applying to be admitted to citizenship, shall have borne any hereditary title; or been of any of the orders of nobility, in the kingdom or state from which he came, he shall, in addition to the above requisites; make an express renunciation of his title or order of nobility in the court to which his application shall be made; which renunciation shall be recorded in the said court."

"SEC. 2. *Provided always, and be it further enacted*, That any alien now residing within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States, may be admitted to become a citizen, on his declaring on oath or affirmation, in some one of the courts aforesaid, that he has resided, two years at least, within and under the jurisdiction of the same, and one year, at least, within the state or territory where such court is at the time held; that he will support the Constitution of the United States; and that he doth absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty, whatever, and particularly by name, the prince, potentate, state or sovereignty whereof he was before a citizen or subject; and, moreover, on its appearing

P 2

ing

ing to the satisfaction of the court, that during the said term of two years, he has behaved as a man of good moral character, attached to the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same; and, where the alien applying for admission to citizenship, shall have borne any hereditary title, or been of any of the orders of nobility in the kingdom or state from which he came, on his moreover making in the court, an express renunciation of his title or order of nobility, before he shall be entitled to such admission; all of which proceedings, required in this proviso to be performed in the court, shall be recorded by the clerk thereof."

" SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the children of persons duly naturalized, dwelling within the United States, and being under the age of twenty-one years, at the time of such naturalization; and the children of citizens of the United States, born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, shall be considered as citizens of the United States; *Provided*, that the right of citizenship shall not descend to persons, whose fathers have never been resident in the United States: *Provided also*, that no person heretofore proscribed by any state, or who has been legally convicted of having joined the army of Great Britain, during the late war, shall be admitted a citizen as aforesaid, without the consent of the legislature of the state, in which such person was proscribed."

It will readily be conceived, that the democratic party in Congress were averse to any law of this kind; because, in every cargo of disaffected Emigrants they saw so many voters added to their partizans. They had strength sufficient to throw the bill

bill over the bar, and they certainly wished to do it; but, they perceived, that, since the time when they were elected, the opinions of the people had undergone a considerable change with respect to the Emigrants. They began to look upon them as rascals in search of plunder, instead of oppressed people in search of liberty and happiness; a change of sentiment which was, in a great measure, produced by the Western Insurrection, which they did not scruple to attribute to foreigners, and in which two or three foreigners certainly bore a very conspicuous part.

The democratic party were, therefore, afraid to oppose the bill in the lump; but they resolved to render it as lame and ineffectual as possible. By harping upon what they called the principles of the Constitution, they obtained for their friends all the favour that was to be obtained, without defeating the bill altogether.

The first thing they effected was, to *make the term of probation much shorter* than was proposed in the draft of the bill. The next step was, to *divide the power of admission between the Federal and State Courts*; for, if this power had been, as the Federalists wished it to be, and as it certainly ought to have been, confined to the Federal, or *national* courts, the Democrats clearly foresaw, that very few, if any, of their factious partizans would ever gain admission to the right of voting. On the other hand, they knew that nine tenths of the state courts, in those states to which Emigrants usually came, viz. Vermont, New-York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, would rejoice at an opportunity of counteracting any law, made for the support of the Federal influence. They knew also, that these courts were fifty times as numerous as the Federal courts; that the former, were, one or other of them,

always open, and that they were held in every county of the state, while the latter were open but for about three weeks in the whole year, and were never held but in one place. This, therefore, was a capital point, and the Democrats carried it according to their wish. The consequences have been such as were foreseen: where the national courts have exercised this power once, the state courts have exercised it one thousand times!

From the disposition, as above stated, of the state courts, it was not difficult to predict in what manner they would exercise the power of admission to the right of citizenship, and their conduct, in this respect, has very far surpassed every abuse and enormity that was foretold, even by those who entertained the greatest apprehensions.

Having succeeded in securing the influence of those, by whom the Emigrants were to be admitted or rejected, the democratic faction next took care to inlist in their favour both the virtues and the vices of the Emigrants themselves.

The law prescribes that every Emigrant, previous to his admission, shall, *upon oath*, "absolutely and "entirely renounce and abjure *all allegiance and "fidelity* to any foreign prince, potentate, state or "sovereignty * whatever, and particularly by name, "the prince, potentate, state or sovereignty, where- "of he was before a citizen or subject." Nothing could be better calculated for securing the admission of the bad and the exclusion of the good. Had the oath been intended for the express purpose of admitting the factious villains from Europe to the right of voting, and putting it out of the power of peaceable, conscientious Emigrants ever to vote, it

* Not excepting even the "*imprescriptible and unalienable sovereignty of the people.*"

could not have been otherwise framed ; for, whi on the one hand, it was evident, that no oath would be an obstacle to wretches, who had already betrayed or abandoned their own country, on the other, it was as evident, that the oath imposed would never be taken by those who had not been guilty of one or the other, or both. Where, in God's name, will you find me a man, with any sense of morality or decency, who will come into open court and solemnly *abjure all fidelity to his lawful sovereign and his native land ?* This law is the most shameless invitation to perjury that ever was given by man. Two persons are to come and swear, that the party is of *good moral character*, and that *he is attached to the Constitution of the United States* ; and then the party himself is to take an oath, which *proves him to be of a bad moral character, and not attached to any country or government on earth !*

The effects of this part of the law have been such as were to be expected. There are many Emigrants, who have come to this country from choice, who prosper under the government, who wish it stability, and who are ready to render it every service in their power, but who never will *abjure all fidelity to their sovereign and their country*. I know several of this description, some of whom used to vote before this law was passed, but who have ceased to do it since a certificate of their having taken such an oath has been required. About a week ago [I write this in July, 1799.] an Englishman (a mechanic) met me in the street, and asked my opinion concerning the taking of the oath. He wished, he said, to vote against *M'Kean*, at the ensuing election, and was then about to be naturalized in order to be enabled to do it ; " but," said he, " I am told that " the oath is *too bad* ; what do you think of it ? " — I replied : " nobody wishes to see *M'Kean* defeated

“more earnestly than I do; but God forbid that I should advise you to *abjure all fidelity to your lawful sovereign*, for I am sure you would be guilty of perjury.”—“Abjure all fidelity to King George?” said he, “the Devil may be their Governor for me, for I’ll do no such thing.”

If, instead of this most profligate oath, an *oath of fidelity to the United States, while the party remained in the country*, had been made the condition of admission to the right of voting, the way would have been left open to the worthy part of the Emigrants, who would, to a man, have been found firm friends to the Federal Government, and for this very reason it was, that the democratic faction shut the door against them, and by a stroke of address, too, which the Federalists dared not attempt to resist. If they had but hinted, that an oath of *abjuration* was unnecessary, their adversaries would have triumphantly exclaimed: “Ah! do you say so? What, then, you want to admit aristocrats, royalists, and even vassals, to a participation of the rights of your constituents!” The Democrats convinced them of their capacity in this way during the discussion of another part of the bill, with some observations on which I shall dismiss the subject.

Every reader of sense must be struck with astonishment at the clause in the law respecting *titled foreigners*. Want of a sufficient stock of vanity was never imputable to republicans; but, few persons, will, I think, believe it possible, that the two Houses of Congress and the President were really apprehensive, that the nobility of Europe were about to emigrate hither, in order to enjoy the inestimable privilege of voting for a Lyon, a Leib, or a M’Clenachan. To do them justice, they were apprehensive of no such danger: the clause alluded to was the creature of a mixture of *malice and of*
fun.

fun. It was a mere trap to catch the Federal members, and expose them to the suspicions and coarse jests of the vulgar.

The bill had been read, I believe, a second time, and was about to undergo a third reading, when *Giles* (a man famous for low cunning, and for associating in his manners and disposition those tyger and monkey-like qualities so conspicuous in the French) arose, and brought forward a clause to prevent *titled foreigners from being admitted to the invaluable rights of citizens of America, 'till they had explicitly renounced their titles in open court.* This amendment to the bill he accompanied with certain observations respecting the great danger to be apprehended from an influx of foreign noblemen, which the republican successes in Europe, and the high reputation of America would most certainly produce. *Giles* acted his part, on this occasion, with so much theatrical art, with so much gravity and even alarm in his look and manner, that his friend *Madison*, who was not previously consulted, really took him to be in earnest, and rendered himself everlastingly ridiculous by the speech which he made in seconding his motion. After saying that he expected, in a short time, to see *the peerage of Great Britain come thronging to these States*, and promising that he would condescend to *sympathize* with them, and to receive them with that hospitality and tenderness, to which *misfortune* is entitled, he declared, however, that no earthly consideration, no *charity*, no *compassion*, should induce him to suffer the revival of their hereditary pretensions in a country, where the people were the only lawful *sovereign*, and where to attempt to enjoy honours and titles derived from any other source would be an act of *treason*, which he, for one, would endeavour to punish at the *risk of losing the last drop of his blood!*

Never

Never was a more ludicrous farce acted to a bursting audience. Madison is a little bow-legged man, at once stiff and slender. His countenance has that sour aspect, that conceited screw, which pride would willingly mould into an expression of disdain, if it did not find the features too skinny and too scanty for its purpose. His thin sleek hair, and the niceness of his garments are indicative of that economical cleanliness, which expostulates with the shoe-boy and the washer-woman, which flees from the dangers of a gutter, and which boasts of wearing a shirt for three days without rumpling the ruffle. In short, he has, take him altogether, precisely the prim, mean, prig-like look of a corporal mechanic, and, were he ushered into your parlour, you would wonder why he came without his measure and his sheers.

Such (and with a soul which would disgrace any other tenement than that which contains it) is the mortal, who stood up upon its two legs, confidently predicted the overthrow of the British monarchy, and anticipated the pleasure of feeding its illustrious nobles with his orts !

The Federalists perceived the contempt, to which a silent adoption of Giles's clause would expose them, on the one hand; but, on the other, they foresaw, that any, even the slightest, opposition to it would subject their motives to the most malignant misrepresentation ; they foresaw, that their opponents would not fail to charge them with a partiality for privileged orders, and, adopting the revolutionary slang of the day, to ring the odious name of *aristocrat* in their ears during the remainder of the session.

This popular odium was what some of them had not the courage to face ; these, therefore, after a trifling resistance, went over to the enemy. But, there were men amongst them, who scorned to sacrifice

crifice all their pretensions to sense and modesty to the stupid prejudice of the populace. Amongst these were Messrs. Ames, Sedgwick, Hillhouse, Goodhue, Tracey, Thatcher, and William Smith; all of whom reprobated the clause intended to be introduced, as useless to America, insolent to foreign nations, and contemptibly vain and ridiculous in itself. Their manly resistance, however, produced no other effect than that which the democratic fashion wished it to produce, namely, to mark them out as objects of vulgar reproach. When the question was taken on the admission of the clause, it was carried in the affirmative by a considerable majority.

Having carried their point so far: having inveigled the Federalists into what was impudently called "*a vote for nobility*," the Democrats next took care to point those, who gave that vote, out *by name* to the people, and to this end they immediately called for the *Yeas* and *Nays*. In vain were they told of the uncandidness of this procedure, of its baseness, and of its discordant effects; they were determined not to lose the fruits of their victory.

The very next day after the *Yeas* and *Nays* were taken, they were published in the gazette of Franklin Bache (a gazette notoriously in the pay of France,) accompanied with such comments as it was foreseen they would give rise to. From this gazette these villainous publications found their way into the other democratic prints, and were thus rapidly spread over the Union. The following specimen, taken from Bache of 9th Jan. 1795, will give the reader some idea of the invidious misrepresentations, which were propagated on this occasion.

"The cat is out of the bag," and never was a
 "poor faction put more to its trumps than on the
 "question, whether or not nobility shall have
 "citizenship

“ citizenship among us. How unkind in the *re-*
 “ *publican* majority to insist on having the friends
 “ of titled orders held up to public view, and to
 “ public odium ! Why let the people know, that
 “ there are friends to aristocracy in this country,
 “ by calling the *yeas* and *nays* ? was it not suffi-
 “ cient that Congress, and the congressional sanctu-
 “ ary bore evidence on the occasion ? Was it ne-
 “ cessary that the disgrace should be extended
 “ even to the people, to raise their rude voices
 “ against the delicate nerves of patrician defen-
 “ ders ? Well, indeed, might it cause the over-
 “ flowings of the gall of the fine spun frames of
 “ the friends of nobility ! Well, indeed, might
 “ it excite convulsions of passion in the delicate
 “ nerves of the advocates for privileged orders !
 “ Was ever so indelicate, so rude a thing done be-
 “ fore, as to tell the people what the sentiments
 “ of their Representatives were, even against their
 “ will ! Let the enemies to nobility and their
 “ friends hug themselves with their triumph, it is
 “ an unrighteous one, which will ere long termi-
 “ nate in their disgrace, for distinctions are found-
 “ ed in nature, and *the day must come when we*
 “ *shall have my lords, my ladies, and her and his*
 “ *grace, even on this side the Atlantic.* Already is
 “ the mimicry of it in vogue, for we have the
 “ honourable such-an-one took his seat ; the ho-
 “ nourable such-an-one is arrived ; and the honour-
 “ able such-an-one has left the city. And why
 “ may we not as well have the essence as the af-
 “ fectation of a thing ? Avaunt, ye homespun re-
 “ publicans ; embark immediately for the seat of
 “ refinement, Great Britain, and learn there to
 “ become wise—*learn there the respect which is due*
 “ *to your betters, to reverence your superiors, and*
 “ *then you may be fitted for a place in the congress-*
 “ *sional rostrum.*”

That was precisely what the Federalists foresaw, and, foreseeing it, their voting against the clause was no weak proof of their possessing that integrity, which scorns to be swayed by the fear of popular clamour, and which in a state like this, is certainly to be numbered amongst the first of legislative virtues. I look upon it as an act of justice due to these gentlemen to record the *Yeas* and *Nays* here, which will, besides, serve as a very good criterion of the strength of the parties, during the session, and will make the reader acquainted with characters, whom, in the next session, he will find acting in scenes of much greater importance.

Against Giles's Clause.

Messrs. Ames, Armstrong, Boudinet, S. Bourne, B. Bourne, Cadwallader, Cobb, Coffin, Coit, Dexter, Fitzimmons, Foster, Gilbert, Glen, Goodhue, Gordon, Hartley, Hillhouse, Kittera, Learned, Lee, Locke, Sedgwick, W. Smith, Swift, Thatcher, Tracy, Trumbull, Van Allen, Van Grasbeck, P. Wadsworth and J. Wadsworth.—32.

For the Clause.

Messrs. Baily, Baldwin, Benton, Blount, Car-ness, Clairbone, Coles, Dayton, Dearborne, Dent, Edwards, Findley, Giles, Gillespie, Gilman, Greenup, Gregg, Grove, Hancock, Harrison, Heath, Heister, Holten, Hunter, Irvine, Latimer, Lyman, Macon, Madison, Malbone, M'Dowell, Mebane, Montgomery, Moore, P. Muhlenberg, Vans Murray, Neville, New, Nicholas, Niles, Orr, Page, Parker, Pickens, Preston, Rutherford, Scott, Shurburne, Smilie, I. Smith, S. Smith, Tredwell, Van Cortland, Venable, Walker, Williams, Wingate, Winn and Winston.—58.

During

During this session of Congress the President communicated to the Senate the decree of the French Convention respecting the new system of *weights and measures*, together with the French Minister's letters accompanying it. These documents are extremely curious in themselves, and they show very clearly how sanguine the French were in their hopes of new-modelling every thing in these States.

[TRANSLATION.]

" Philadelphia, the 15th Thermidor, 2d year of the French Republic, one and indivisible, (2d August, 1794, Old Style.)"

" Joseph Fauchet, Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic near the United States, to Mr. Randolph, Secretary of State of the United States."

" Sir,

" You have doubtless been informed of the tedious and constant efforts, which have been made in Europe, and particularly in France, for some years past, in order to substitute for the uncertainty which reigns in the instruments employed in comparing or measuring physical quantities, a certain system taken from nature, and of course as immutable as nature itself. The learned alone were long occupied with it as mere matter of speculation. France was the first to place those researches among the cares of government. America, if I mistake not, has since followed the example, for I think I have heard that the present government were engaging in the same changes, and even waited the result of the operation made in France on this subject, for the purpose of commencing the reform. The National Assemblies have given great activity to those researches. The Convention which is constantly occupied in invigorating the arts, has
caused

caused them to make a rapid progress, and at length, has lately adopted the methods resulting therefrom."

"The Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention, convinced that an enlightened and free people would receive with pleasure one of the discoveries of the human mind, the most beautiful in theory, and the most useful in application, had expressly charged the citizen Dombay, a learned natural philosopher, to come and communicate to you the first types of the new mode of mensuration, which has been adopted. You will observe by the decree, of which I enclose you a copy, the motives and express order for this mission. Dombay had likewise received from the board of weights and measures, the instruction of which I also send you a copy. The American vessel in which he had embarked put into Montserrat, where he died. His papers and the models which he had received in order to deliver to the government, have luckily come to my hands. I hasten, Sir, to forward the whole to you, regretting that the patriot Dombay, could not enjoy the honour of fulfilling his mission, and of communicating perhaps some instructions in detail interesting to the learned to whom you may consign the examination of the new system."

"To you, Sir, I shall not dissemble, that as to myself I see in the adoption of the new measures by America *a mean of cementing the political and commercial connections of the two nations. I see moreover therein a great step towards the destruction of those customs more or less absurd and arbitrary, which shackle the relations of nations with each other.* Persuaded that the government takes an equal interest itself in both these objects, I cannot entertain a doubt of its sanctioning with its authority the introduction of the new method."

“ If you desire, Sir, to avail yourself of the instructions about to be prepared by order of the National Convention, in order to facilitate in practice the use of the new instruments, and the understanding of their relation to the old, I shall with pleasure undertake to make an express application for them in France.”

“ Accept, Sir, my esteem,

“ JH. FAUCHET”.

[TRANSLATION.]

“ DECREE of the Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention, on the 21st day of the month Frimaire, second year of the French Republic, one and indivisible, (11th December, 1793).”

“ The Committee of Public Safety, considering that it may be important to make known to the people with whom the Republic may have relations, the new system of weights and measures, which it has adopted,”

“ Decrees,

“ That the Board of Weights and Measures cause to be sent to citizen Dombay, who departs for North America, a measure in copper, and the weight divided in the form decreed for the standards, the expense of which shall be defrayed out of the funds allotted for this work.”

“ Done at Paris the 21st Frimaire, 2d year of the French Republic, one and indivisible. (Signed in original) Robespierre, Carnot, C. A. Prieur, Barrere, Billaud de Varennes, and R. Lindet.”

“ Extract (signed) C. A. Prieur, Carnot, R. Linder, and Billaud de Varennes.”

“ True Copy.”

“ JH. FAUCHET.”

[TRANS-

[TRANSLATION.]

“ The Board of Weights and Measures, in execution of a decree of the Committee of Public Safety, has transmitted to citizen Dombay, a measure in copper, and a weight decimally divided, both being conformable to standards which will soon be in use throughout the Republic.”

“ According to the decrees of the National Convention our measure ought to be equal to the ten millionth part of fourth part of a terrestrial meridian, which is the unit taken in nature, to which all our measures are referred, and our weight ought to be equal to the weight of a cubic measure of distilled water, having for its side the tenth part of the measure, (this water being supposed to be weighed in the open air, and in the temperature of melting ice.)”

“ We already know very nearly the length of the fourth part of a meridian, from the measures of several terrestrial arcs made in the last and present century by different astronomers. It results from those measures, that the 45th degree of latitude contains 57,027 toises of France: now in supposing the earth to be an elliptical spheroid of small eccentricity, the 45th degree is very nearly the mean term between all the other degrees*. It will hence

* In like manner, if we measure an arc of the meridian divided into equal parts, by the 45th degree, we shall have the fourth of a meridian by multiplying the given length of this arc by 90, and dividing the product by the number of degrees measured.

The terrestrial arc contained between Dunkirk and Barcelona, which the board of weights and measures is instructed to measure, in order to ascertain the length of the meridian, is found to be divided into two parts by the 45th degree. In

hence follow, that by multiplying 57,027 toises by 90 we shall have the length of the fourth part of a meridian, which will be found equal to 5,132,430 toises, and consequently is ten millionth part in which the measure will be equal to three French feet, eleven lignes, forty-four-hundredths. It is thought, that the error of this determination does not exceed the tenth of a ligne.

“ The standard of the measure has been regulated by this precise length of three French feet, eleven lignes, forty-four hundredths, to the temperature marked by ten degrees of the thermometer of Reaumur, or fifty-four and one-eighth of that of Fahrenheit, which is the constant temperature observed either in summer or winter in the cellars of the observatory of Paris.

“ The standard of weight has been determined from experiments on the weight of distilled water, made by the board of weights and measures, and referring the volume of the body which was used in the experiments, to the cubic measure which has for its side the tenth part of the measure.

“ Although the determination of these two models be already of more than sufficient exactness for the ordinary necessities of commerce, still however it is regarded as provisory only, and the investigation will not be definitively decreed until the measure of the terrestrial arc which is now making shall be entirely accomplished. It is hoped that this measure which comprehends nine degrees and a half of the meridian, and which is the greatest operation of the kind that has been undertaken, will be completed by the end of this year ; then the length of the measure being fixed, as well as the weight

fact, the two parts are not equal, but they differ so little, that the ratio of the arcs to which our attention is called in the calculation will not be sensibly influenced by the result.

of

of the unit of weights, the provisory models will be corrected, if they require it, and shall be executed in Platina. A single model of each kind, which shall be deposited in the place of residence of the National Assembly, will serve to verify from time to time, at fixed periods, those which shall be scattered throughout the republic.

“ It is thought that the National Convention will in like manner cause to be executed in Platina, other models which shall be sent to the nations with whom France may be connected in commerce—these models shall be absolutely similar to those which are to be preserved in the place of residence of the National Assembly, and the identity such, as that each nation may regard those she possesses as the prototypes of all the others.

“ The standard of measure and that of weight are divided into decimal parts. This system of division, which is uniform and similar to that of our arithmetical scale, will be established generally in all kinds of measures—In those of length, superficies, and of capacity, as well as in weights and money, and in short, in astronomical, geographical and nautical measures.

“ Already our livre tournois or numerical livre is divided into dimes and cents, and the public accounts will immediately be kept conformably to this new division. The small monies which are coined, are equally subject to this system, and are decimal parts of the weight.

“ As to measures which interest the sciences, the decimal division has been executed in the instruments which are used to measure the terrestrial arc contained between Dunkirk and Barcelona. In these instruments the fourth of the circle is divided into one hundred degrees, the degree into minutes, and the minute into one hundred seconds. It is also attempted to reduce all the astronomical tables to the new division.

“ In like manner, astronomical clocks divided into decimals have been made. The whole length of the day from one midnight to another, is divided into ten hours ; the hour into one hundred minutes, and the minute into one hundred seconds, which make each day to consist of one hundred thousand seconds, instead of eighty-six thousand four hundred as formerly computed, so that the new second will be but about six sevenths of the ancient, and the length of the new pendulum for seconds will be equal to 2pi. 3po. 7li. instead of 3pi. 8li. 1-2.

“ Several pocket watches have been made according to the decimal division, and in short the division of the year decreed by the National Convention adheres as nearly as possible to this new system.

“ Note. The standards of measures of capacity have not been added, because it is sufficient to say that our elementary unit of capacity, or our pint, will be equal to a cubic measure, having for its side the tenth part of the measure, hence it will be seen that the unit of weight is the weight of a pint of distilled water.

“ True copy,

“ JH. FAUCHET.”

Fauchet's first letter expresses pretty frankly the motive from which this communication was made : it was “ *to cement the political and commercial connections of the two countries,*” and “ *to destroy those customs more or less absurd which shackle the relations of nations.*” It was not at all surprising, that the impudent Sans-Culotte Usurpers should make this proposition, but it was matter of great surprise ; nor, considering the uniform practice of President Washington to shift all popular odium

odium from himself, was it very surprising, that he should impart the proposition to the Senate; but, it was real matter of great surprise, that the Senate should give importance to the ridiculous business by ordering 300 copies of the documents to be printed *for the use of the members*. Here, however, the subject ended. No further notice was ever taken of it; but had the proposition been made a year sooner, I much doubt whether an attempt would not have been made to frenchify the weights and measures of America.

The session of Congress closed, as it had begun, in no very good humour. The Democrats had been valiantly encountered on many occasions, but they still retained their majority in the House of Representatives, and their popularity amongst the people. The Western Rebellion, the disgrace, and more especially the *expense*, attending it, had excited considerable dislike to the democratic Societies; but this had very little influence on the conduct of the people at large, who still adhered as madly as ever to the principles of the French Sans-Culottes, and to those demagogues who professed them. Nothing can be a stronger proof of this than the election of Swanwick a Representative in Congress for the city of Philadelphia. This despicable creature had no earthly recommendation, but that of being a partizan of France, and he owed his election entirely to the votes of those very persons, who had marched out to quell the rebellion. The election came on while they were out, and, in consequence of a law framed on purpose, they were suffered to poll in their camp. Thus, while they were actually engaged in quelling a rebellion, they gave their suffrages for a man, who if not active in exciting it, professed precisely the same principles as those who did excite it, which was a pretty plain proof, that their marching against the

rebels was not entirely the effect of that attachment to the Constitution to which the President attributed it.

Indications of the same partiality for French principles appeared in the elections elsewhere ; *Galatin*, whose conduct in the rebellion had been such as to *entitle* him to the benefit of the *amnesty*, was almost unanimously elected one, out of *two*, of the Senators in Congress for the state of Pennsylvania ! So that the reader will not be much astonished if he finds the Democrats in possession of a majority in the next Congress as well as this.

POPULAR PROCEEDINGS

RELATIVE TO THE

BRITISH TREATY.



BRITISH TREATY.

THE reigning political topic with the *Sovereign people*, during April, May, June, and July, was, the *Treaty with Great Britain*. It has been observed, that 'till Great Britain consented to open a negociation for a commercial treaty, her distant behaviour, in this respect, was constantly attributed to her haughty and unforgiving disposition. It has also been observed, in the same "Summary View," that the faction attached to France, and of whom Jefferson was the leader, brought before Congress, in the years 1793 and 1794, a set of commercial regulations, the ostensible object of which was, *to compel Great Britain to come into a treaty with America*; but those who knew under what influence this faction acted, made no doubt that the regulations were introduced, not as the means of extending the commercial relations with Great Britain, and of regaining and securing her friendship; but, on the contrary, as the means of thwarting, disgusting and irritating her, and, finally, producing on her part, acts of retaliation, which, if they did not lead immediately to war, would inevitably tend to revive the rancorous spirit of the Americans, and turn the tide of trade and commerce towards the shores of France. That such were the real motives of the democratic faction, every

every man acquainted with their politics was well assured from the beginning, and the truth became notorious when it was found that a treaty had been made. They were displeased at the appointment of *Mr. Jay* as the negociator. They knew his aversion to a war with Great Britain; and though they certainly paid him an unmerited compliment in asserting that he was *an enemy to the French revolution and to republicanism in general*, they justly suspected him of entertaining little partiality for the cut-throats, who ruled France at the time when he received his appointment. But still, they were in hopes, that he would do nothing but wrangle with the British court. They were alarmed at his appointment, but they confidently hoped his mission would end in smoke, or, at worst, in a patched-up accommodation, which it would require but little trouble to frustrate. Their astonishment, therefore, their vexation, their rage, when they found he had concluded a treaty of *amity*, is hardly to be conceived. The presses under their controul, that is to say, nine-tenths of the presses of the country, began to pour forth against him a flood of misrepresentation, falsehood and abuse, that finally overwhelmed the sense of the people, and rendered them absolutely frantick. Never was a nation upon earth so grossly deceived. Never were the plans of demagogues better laid, better conducted, or attended, for a while at least, with more complete success.

They began their operations by endeavouring to convince the people, that the appointment of *Mr. Jay* was unconstitutional, and that, the Constitution had been thus violated by the President and Senate, because they could find no other man so devoted to Great Britain, and so likely to sacrifice to her the interests and liberties of America,

This

This subject was bandied about, in various ways, 'till intelligence was received of the Envoy's arrival in England and of his reception at court: then his compliance with his usual ceremonies, or rather, his being honoured with the usual marks of royal politeness, became the object of democratic censure. "What!" said they, "shall the representative of a great and sovereign people, the representation of republicans, kneel down before the Kings and Queens? Will the people of America pardon the man, who has thus disgraced them?"

The next topic of complaint was the Note, addressed by Mr. Jay to Lord Grenville. This was said to be a humiliating production, an act of base condescension to royalty, for which the writer ought to be severely punished. How much truth there was in these charges will appear from the Note itself and the reply of Lord Grenville.

Mr. Jay's Note.

"THE undersigned, Envoy of the United States of America, has the honour of representing to the Right Honourable Lord Grenville, His Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State, for the department of foreign affairs :"

"That, a very considerable number of American vessels have been irregularly captured, and as improperly condemned, by certain of his Majesty's officers and judges."

"That, in various instances, these captures and condemnations were so conducted, and the captured placed under such unfavourable circumstances, as that, for want of the securities required, and other obstacles, no appeals were made in some cases, nor any claims in others."

"The undersigned presumes, that these facts will appear from the documents which he has had the

the honour of submitting to his Lordship's consideration; and that it will not be deemed necessary at *present*, to particularize these cases, and their merits, or detail the circumstances, which discriminate some from others."

"That great and extensive injuries having thus, under colour of his Majesty's authority and commissions, been done to a numerous class of American merchants, the United States can, for reparation, have recourse only to the justice, authority and interposition of his Majesty. That the vessels and property taken and condemned have been chiefly sold, and the proceeds divided among a great number of persons, of whom some are dead, some unable to make retribution, and others, from frequent removals, and their particular circumstances, not easily reached by civil process."

"That as for these losses and injuries, adequate compensation, by means of judicial proceedings, has become impracticable; and, considering the causes which combined to produce them, the United States confide in his Majesty's justice and magnanimity, to cause such compensation to be made to these innocent sufferers, as may be consistent with equity; and the undersigned flatters himself, that such principles may without difficulty be adopted, as will serve as rules whereby to ascertain the cases and the amount of compensation."

"So grievous are the expenses and delays attending litigated suits, to persons whose fortunes have been so materially affected, and so great is the distance of Great Britain from America, that the undersigned thinks he ought to express his anxiety, that a mode of proceeding as summary and little expensive may be devised, as circumstances and the peculiar hardship of these cases may appear to permit and require."

"And

“ And as (at least in some of these cases) it may be expedient and necessary, as well as just, that the sentences of the courts of vice-admiralty should be revised and corrected by the court of appeals here ; the undersigned hopes it will appear reasonable to his Majesty, to order that the captured in question (who have not already so done,) be there admitted to enter both their *appeals* and their *claims*.”

“ The undersigned also finds it to be his duty to represent, that the irregularities before mentioned, extended, not only to the capture and condemnation of American vessels and property, and to unusual personal securities, but even to the impressment of American citizens, to serve on board of armed vessels. He forbears to dwell on the injuries done to these unfortunate individuals, or on the emotions which they must naturally excite, either in the breasts of the nation to whom they belong, or of the just and humane of every country. His reliance on the justice and benevolence of his Majesty, leads him to indulge a pleasing expectation, that orders will be given, that Americans so circumstanced, be immediately liberated, and that persons honoured with his Majesty’s commissions, do in future abstain from similar violences.”

“ It is with cordial satisfaction that the undersigned reflects on the impressions which such equitable and conciliatory measures would make on the mind of the United States, and how naturally they would inspire and cherish those sentiments and dispositions which never fail to preserve, as well as to produce, respect, esteem and friendship.”

“ (Signed)

JOHN JAY.”

“ London, 30th July 1794.”

I fancy

I fancy the reader will perceive nothing *humiliating* in the Note of Mr. Jay, nor will he, if he examine, find any thing *haughty* in the reply of Lord Grenville; yet, it is almost impossible to conceive the popular rage that was excited by the comments on these state papers. No misrepresentation, no falsehood, was spared. The most absurd and ridiculous notions of the importance of America, of the superiority of Republics over Monarchies, were inculcated with a zeal, which never was equalled, except by the eagerness with which they were received and adopted by the people.

As the return of Mr. Jay approached, the clamours grew more and more violent. The *Treaty* was received on the 7th of March by the President, and was not laid before the Senate 'till June; but, to the surprise of all those who could not imagine treachery to exist in the very bosom of the Government, the Democrats began to discuss the articles of it before, and during *the month of May*. These articles were not, indeed, published by them at length, in the gazettes, but the substance of such as they chose to comment on was stated to be so nearly what it really was, that it is impossible to reject the belief of the treaty's having been divulged to them by RANDOLPH, the Secretary of State, in a very few days after it arrived in Philadelphia.

I have before remarked, that the treaty was received on the 7th of March by the President, who, according to Randolph's own account of the matter, communicated its contents to him, with a strict injunction to conceal them from every person upon earth, without a single exception, 'till he was permitted to divulge them. This injunction he protests he faithfully observed; but protestations from him will have little weight with those who are acquainted

quainted with the subsequent discoveries respecting his fidelity; and, when we compare the date of the arrival of the treaty with that of the first regular attack on it, little doubt will remain of its having been divulged by him. The treaty was communicated to him on the 7th of March, and, *in two days afterwards*, the 1st No. of a series of papers against it appeared in the "Independent Gazetteer," published by one Eleazer Oswald, a violent partizan of France.

This number began by stating, that it was *reported*, that the treaty was arrived; it then insisted on the necessity of *analyzing it*, before it became the law of the land, and asserted, that, though it might appear hasty to proceed in this examination before the contents of the treaty were known, it must nevertheless be done; because, when the treaty should be promulgated, it would be too late to detect its defects. The writer next states, that *he doubts not* "that *the leading features of the treaty* have been described by the *British prints*, and "by the *private communications* WE have received "from Great Britain." What *description* he had seen in the British prints nobody could guess at, for nobody had seen them but himself; and though he might be very fortunate in his private communications, it was not easy to conceive how he came by the knowledge of an instrument that Mr. Hammond, the British Minister, never saw 'till two months afterwards.

Having made this lame excuse for the manner in which he came by his information, he next proceeds to state, but at the same time to misrepresent, the substance of the most unpopular articles, and to hold up the whole treaty to the execration of the populace. An example so truly democratic could not fail of being followed in every quarter of the Union.

Nor did the villains; at the same time that they were prepossessing the people against the immediate object of their hostility, forget to avail themselves of all the aid to be derived from a revival of the old prejudices and animosity against the British government and nation. They interlarded their philippics against the President, the Negotiator, and the Treaty, with the most infamous lies respecting the conduct of the British before, and during, the revolutionary war. Of the abuse heaped on every branch of the British Government, of the daring, the foul, the obscene language, made use of for this purpose, it is almost impossible to form a conception. "Citizens," exclaimed one of their writers, who assumed the name of *Franklin*, so dear to sedition, "Citizens! freemen of a favoured and happy land, arouse from your slumbers!—Storms and tempests menace your peaceful dwellings—Prepare to avert them! Your inveterate and implacable enemy is seeking to obtain a footing amongst you—Chase the conspirator away! Remember, that, where despotism and corruption obtain an establishment, there liberty is insecure—and let it be never effaced from your minds, that Great Britain fought to enslave you—That she is the enemy of freedom—that she is at this moment waging a cruel warfare against it—and that no effort of hers will remain untried to extirpate it from the earth.—She issued her piratical mandates, urged on the Savages by the mouth of *Dorchester* to butcher our citizens, and desolate our frontier, and, by her intrigues, let loose a band of Algerine robbers, barbarous almost as Britons, to prey upon our commerce and make slaves of freemen—Citizens! SOVEREIGNS OF A FREE COUNTRY! lend an attentive ear to the Treaty! Every thing precious to
 " freemen

“ freemen is implicated in it—regard it with a jealous eye ! Remember that Great Britain is a monarchy—that she is famed for corruption—and that we are a republic ! Let the truth of the adage be indelibly impressed upon your minds, that evil communication corrupts good manners, and you will ever abhor a connection with tyranny, profligacy, brutality, and corruption.”

By publications of this sort, which obtained a great circulation, the minds of the lower class of people (all of whom read newspapers and nothing else) were wrought up to a state very nearly approaching that of canine madness.

While the grand tragic-farce, in which the whole Union was engaged, was regularly advancing to its catastrophe, the Sovereign People of Boston rose and destroyed a *British vessel*, by way of episode. This is a fact of some importance, as it characterizes the turbulent spirit of the times ; and, as, at a future day, it may possibly be denied by the “ *solid men of Boston*,” I shall insert the account of the civic act as it was published in their own papers.

Boston, June 21, 1795.

“ Last evening, a large concourse of people assembled on the long wharf, in consequence of a handbill issued the preceding afternoon, purporting that a New Providence or Bermudian privateer was then lying at said wharf. The enraged multitude, having ascertained the fact, desired the captain and crew to leave the sloop, which was soon complied with ; they then proceeded to examine, and found several carriage guns, shot, small arms, cutlasses, and other warlike implements, which they threw overboard. This discovery exasperated them to such

“ a degree that they dismantled and dismantled
 “ her, they then towed the hull from the wharf,
 “ and set fire to it. The tide carried it as far
 “ as Charleston, where it burned to the water’s
 “ edge.”

“ *Commonwealth of Massachusetts, by the Governor, a Proclamation.*”

“ WHEREAS, it has been represented to me, that
 “ a number of persons, *unknown*, did, the last night,
 “ riotously and tumultuously, assemble in the
 “ town of Boston, and with force and violence did
 “ burn a vessel named the *Betsey*, of St. Croix,
 “ lying at the long wharf, in the said Boston, and
 “ destroyed the cargo then on board. I have
 “ therefore thought fit, by and with the advice
 “ and consent of the council, to issue this pro-
 “ clamation; hereby requiring all magistrates,
 “ sheriffs and constables; and I do also, recommend
 “ to every good citizen of this common-wealth, that
 “ they use their utmost endeavours for discover-
 “ ing, apprehending, and bringing to justice any,
 “ and all persons concerned in this unlawful and
 “ dangerous proceeding—so that he or they may
 “ be dealt with according to law. Given at the
 “ council chamber in Boston this twenty-first
 “ day of June, in the year of our Lord, one thou-
 “ sand seven hundred and ninety five, and in the
 “ nineteenth year of the Independence of the Uni-
 “ ted States of America.”

“ SAMUEL ADAMS.”

On the 26th of June another riot was expected,
 “ in consequence of the circulation of a number
 “ of

“ of incendiary handbills, calling upon the GOOD
 “ CITIZENS to attack several English vessels,
 “ lying at the wharfs;” but, the militia being
 called out, and appearing willing to act, the ob-
 ject of the rioters was frustrated.

There is such a perfect similarity between the
 conduct of these “ *unknown persons*,” and that of
 the mob, who, *in the dress of Mohawk Indians*,
 destroyed the TEA, in this same town of Boston,
 that it appears matter of astonishment, that the
 patriotic SAMUEL ADAMS, should not have ap-
 proved of the exercise of sovereignty in one case
 as well as in the other; nor can the inconsistency
 of his conduct be accounted for upon any other
 ground than that of his being Governor when the
 vessel was burnt, and only a simple demagogue
 when the TEA was destroyed.

Great part of the month of June was taken up
 by the Senate in discussing the treaty; on the 24th
 they concluded their session by advising the Pre-
 sident to ratify it, with the exception of the West
 India article. The moment they assembled every
 art was employed to excite the suspicions of the
 people with regard to their decision. Every effort
 was made, but in vain, to intimidate them, and to
 induce them, at least, to debate with open doors,
 in order to furnish the Democrats with an oppor-
 tunity of publishing the inflammatory speeches of
 the opposition. “ The conduct,” says one of their
 paragraphists, “ of the Senate respecting the treaty,
 “ is truly extraordinary. Upon what constitutio-
 “ nal, or republican principle they can justify a
 “ secrecy, in relation to *a law*, which shall rival
 “ the darkness of a conclave or a seraglio, is ex-
 “ tremely difficult to conceive. The motion for
 “ a publication of the treaty, made in the Senate,
 “ had not even a glimmering of success, and when
 “ so modified, as to allow each Senator to con-

“ sult his friends, it was, even in this form, re-
 “ jected. When the treaty concluded between
 “ the Executive of France and Prussia was read
 “ in the Convention, it was done with open doors,
 “ and it was debated and ratified in the presence
 “ of the people.—How very different is the con-
 “ duct of our government, and yet it is said that
 “ *We the people* are the *Sovereign*. What a mys-
 “ tery of republicanism! There can be little
 “ doubt that the treaty, in many of its *prominent*
 “ *features*, is highly exceptionable, and if the
 “ Senate expect, by means of secrecy, to cram it
 “ down our throats, they may mistake their object.
 “ *Prudence*, if not patriotism, ought to dictate.”

These menaces made no impression on the Senate, who, having on the 24th of June, approved of the treaty (with conditional clause,) left it to the President, whose duty it was, according to the constitution, to *ratify* without any further deliberation. But, so loud were the popular clamours against the instrument, and so fearful was the old man of losing his dear popularity, that, on the 29th of June, he ordered the Secretary of State, Randolph, to hand a copy of the treaty secretly to one of the news-printers, for publication, “ *in order to draw forth the sentiments of the people.*”*

This treaty is so important an instrument, and has been so fruitful a source of contention, both domestic and foreign, that it is absolutely necessary to insert it at length in this work.

* See Randolph's Vindication, in vol. 2.

TREATY of AMITY, COMMERCE and NAVIGATION, *between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America.*

By their President, with the advice and consent of their Senate.

HIS Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, being desirous by a Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, to terminate their differences in such a manner, as without reference to the merits of their respective complaints and pretensions, may be the best calculated to produce mutual satisfaction and good understanding : And also to regulate the Commerce and Navigation between their respective countries, territories, and people, in such a manner as to render the same reciprocally beneficial and satisfactory : they have, respectively, named their Plenipotentiaries, and given them full powers to treat of, and conclude the said Treaty, that is to say, his Britannic Majesty has named for his Plenipotentiary, the Right Hon. Wm. Wyndham, Baron Grenville of Wotton, one of his Majesty's Privy Council, and His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs ; and the President of the said United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, hath appointed for their Plenipotentiary, the Hon. John Jay, Chief Justice of the said United States, and their Envoy Extraordinary to his Majesty, who have agreed on, and concluded the following

ARTICLES :

Art. 1. There shall be a firm, inviolable and universal Peace, and a true and sincere friendship between his Britannic Majesty, his heirs and successors, and the United States of America ; and

between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns and people of every degree, without exception of persons or places.

Art. 2. His Majesty will withdraw all his troops and garrisons from all posts and places within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States. This evacuation shall take place on or before the first day of June, 1796, and all the proper measures shall in the interval be taken by concert between the government of the United States, and his Majesty's Governor-General in America, for settling the previous arrangements which may be necessary respecting the delivery of the said posts : The United States in the mean time at their discretion extending their settlements to any part within the said boundary line, except within the precincts or jurisdiction of the said posts. All settlers and traders within the precincts or jurisdiction of the said posts, shall continue to enjoy, unmolested, all their property of every kind, and shall be protected therein. They shall be at full liberty to remain there, or to remove with all or any part of their effects ; and it shall also be free to them to sell their lands, houses, or effects, or to retain the property thereof, at their discretion ; such of them as shall continue to reside within the said boundary lines shall not be compelled to become citizens of the United States, or to take any oath of allegiance to the government thereof, but they shall be at full liberty so to do, if they think proper, and they shall make and declare their election within one year after the evacuation aforesaid. And all persons who shall continue there after the expiration of the said year, without having declared their intention of remaining subjects of his Britannic Majesty, shall be considered as having elected to become citizens of the United States.

Art.

Art. 3. It is agreed that it shall at all time be free to his Majesty's subjects, and to the citizens of the United States, and also to the Indians dwelling on either side of the said boundary line, freely to pass and repass by land or inland navigation, into the respective territories and countries of the two parties on the continent of America [the country within the limits of the Hudson's Bay Company only excepted] and to navigate all the lakes, rivers, and waters thereof, and freely to carry on trade and commerce with each other. But it is understood, that this article does not extend to the admission of vessels of the United States into the seaports, harbours, bays or creeks of his Majesty's said territories; nor into such parts of the rivers in his Majesty's said territories as are between the mouth thereof, and the highest port or entry from the sea, except in small vessels trading *bona fide* between Montreal and Quebec, under such regulations as shall be established to prevent the possibility of any frauds in this respect. Nor to the admission of British vessels from the sea into the rivers of the United States, beyond the highest ports of entry for foreign vessels from the sea. The river Mississippi shall, however, according to the treaty of peace, be entirely open to both parties; and it is further agreed, that all the ports and places on its eastern side, to whichever of the parties belonging, may freely be resorted to, and used by both parties, in as ample a manner as any of the Atlantic ports or places of the United States, or any of the ports or places of his Majesty in Great-Britain.

All goods and merchandize whose importation into his Majesty's said territories in America, shall not be entirely prohibited, may freely, for the purposes of commerce, be carried into the same in the manner aforesaid, by the citizens of the United

States, and such goods and merchandize shall be subject to no higher or other duties than would be payable by his Majesty's subjects on the importation of the same from Europe into the said territories. And in like manner, all goods and merchandizes whose importation into the United States shall not be wholly prohibited, may freely, for the purposes of commerce, be carried into the same, in the manner aforesaid, by his Majesty's subjects, and such goods and merchandize shall be subject to no other higher or other duties than would be payable by the citizens of the United States on the importation of the same, in American vessels, into the Atlantic ports of the said States. And all goods not prohibited, to be exported from the said territories, respectively, may in like manner be carried out of the same by the two parties respectively, paying duty as aforesaid.

No duty of entry shall ever be levied by either party on peltries brought by land, or inland navigation into the said territories respectively, nor shall the Indians passing or repassing with their own proper goods and effects whatever. But goods in bales, or other large packages unusual among Indians, shall not be considered as goods belonging *bona fide* to Indians.

No higher or other tolls or rates of ferryage than what are or shall be payable by natives, shall be demanded on either side; and no duties shall be payable on any goods which shall merely be carried over any of the portages or carrying places on either side, for the purpose of being immediately reimbarcked and carried to some other place or places. But as by this stipulation it is only meant to secure to each party a free passage across the portages on both sides, it is agreed, that this exemption from duty shall extend only to such goods as are carried in the usual and direct road across the
portage,

portage, and are not attempted to be in any manner sold or exchanged during their passage across the same, and proper regulations established to prevent the possibility of any frauds in this respect.

As this article is intended to render in a great degree the local advantages of each party common to both, and thereby to promote a disposition favourable to friendship and good neighbourhood, it is agreed, that the respective governments will mutually promote this amicable intercourse, by causing speedy and impartial justice to be done, and necessary protection to be extended to all who may be concerned therein.

Art. 4. Whereas it is uncertain whether the river Mississippi extends so far to the Northward as to be intersected by a line to be drawn due West from the Lake of the Woods in the manner mentioned in the treaty of peace between his Majesty and the United States, it is agreed, that measures shall be taken in concert with his Majesty's government in America, and the government of the United States, for making a joint survey of the said river from one degree of latitude below the Falls of St. Anthony to the principal source or sources of the said river, and also of the parts adjacent thereto; and that if on the result of such survey, it should appear that the said river would not be intersected by such a line as is above mentioned, the two parties will thereupon proceed by amicable negotiation to regulate the boundary line in that quarter, as well as all other points to be adjusted between the said parties, according to justice and mutual convenience, and in conformity to the intent of the said treaty.

Art. 5. Whereas doubts have arisen what river was truly intended under the name of the river St. Croix, mentioned in the said treaty of peace, and forming a part of the boundary therein described,

ed, that question shall be referred to the final decision of commissioners to be appointed in the following manner, viz.

One commissioner shall be named by his Majesty and one by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and the said two commissioners shall agree on the choice of a third; or if they cannot so agree, they shall each propose one person, and, of the two names so proposed, one shall be drawn by lot in the presence of the two original commissioners. And the three commissioners so appointed, shall be sworn impartially to examine and decide the said question according to such evidence as shall respectively be laid before them on the part of the British Government and of the United States. The said commissioners shall meet at Halifax, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. They shall have power to appoint a secretary, and to employ such surveyors or other persons as they shall judge necessary. The said commissioners shall by a declaration under their hands and seals, decide what river is the river St. Croix intended by the treaty. The said declaration shall contain a description of the said river, and shall particularize the latitude and longitude of its mouth and of its source. Duplicates of this declaration and of the statements of their accounts, and of the journal of their proceedings, shall be delivered by them to the agent of his Majesty and to the agent of the United States, who may be respectively appointed and authorized to manage the business on behalf of the respective governments. And both parties agree to consider such decision as final and conclusive, so that the same shall never thereafter be called into question, or made the subject of dispute or difference between them.

Art. 6. Whereas it is alleged by divers British merchants and others his Majesty's subjects, that debts to a considerable amount, which were *bona fide* contracted before the peace, still remaining owing to them by citizens or inhabitants of the United States, and that by the operation of various lawful impediments since the peace, not only the full recovery of the said debts has been delayed, but also the value and security thereof have been, in several instances impaired and lessened, so that by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, the British creditors cannot now obtain, and actually have and receive full and adequate compensation for the losses and damages which they have thereby sustained: It is agreed, that in all such cases where full compensation for such losses and damages cannot for whatever reason be actually obtained, had and received by the said creditors in the ordinary course of justice, the United States will make full and complete compensation for the same to the said creditors: But it is distinctly understood, that this provision is to extend to such losses only as have been occasioned by the lawful impediments aforesaid, and is not to extend to losses occasioned by such insolvency of the debtors, or other causes as would equally have operated to produce such loss, if the said impediments had not existed, nor such losses or damages as have been occasioned by the manifest delay or negligence, or wilful omission of the claimant.

For the purpose of ascertaining the amount of any such losses and damages, five commissioners shall be appointed, and authorized to meet and act in manner following, viz. Two of them shall be appointed by his Majesty, two of them by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and the fifth by the unanimous voice of the other four; and if
they

they should not agree in such choice, then the commissioners named by the two parties shall respectively propose one person, and of the two names so proposed, one shall be drawn by lot in the presence of the four original commissioners. When the five commissioners thus appointed shall first meet, they shall before they proceed to act respectively take the following oath or affirmation, in the presence of each other, which oath or affirmation being so taken, and duly attested, shall be entered on the record of their proceedings, viz. I A. B. one of the commissioners appointed in pursuance of the sixth article of the treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, do solemnly swear, or affirm, that I will honestly, diligently, impartially, and carefully examine, according to justice and equity, and decide all such complaints as under the said article shall be preferred to the said commissioners; that I will forbear to act as a commissioner in any case in which I may be personally interested.

Three of the said commissioners shall constitute a board, and shall have power to do any act appertaining to the said commission, provided that one of the commissioners named on each side, and the fifth commissioner shall be present, and all decisions shall be made by the majority of the voices of the commissioners then present; eighteen months from the day on which the said commissioners shall form a board, and be ready to proceed to business, are assigned for receiving complaints, and applications; but they are nevertheless authorized in any particular cases in which it shall appear to them to be reasonable and just, to extend the said term of eighteen months for any term not exceeding six months, after the expiration thereof. The said commissioners

ners shall first meet at Philadelphia, but they shall have power to adjourn from place to place as they shall see cause.

The said commissioners in examining the complaints and applications so preferred to them, are empowered and required, in pursuance of the true intent and meaning of this article, to take into their consideration all claims, whether of principal or interest, or balances of principal and interest, and to determine the same respectively according to the merits of the several cases, due regard being had to all the circumstances thereof, and as equity and justice shall appear to them to require. And the said commissioners shall have power to examine all such persons as shall come before them on oath or affirmation touching the premises; and also to receive in evidence, according as they may think most consistent with equity and justice, all written depositions, or books, or papers, or copies, or extracts thereof: every such deposition, book, or paper, or extract being duly authenticated, either according to the legal forms now respectively existing in the two countries, or in such other manner as the said commissioners shall see cause to require or allow.

The award of the said commissioners or of any three of them as aforesaid, shall in all cases be final and conclusive, both as to the justice of the claim, and to the amount of the sum to be paid to the creditor or claimant: And the United States undertake to cause the sum so awarded to be paid in specie to such creditor or claimant with deduction; and at such time or times, and at such place or places as shall be awarded by the said commissioners; and on condition of such releases or assignments to be given by the creditor or claimant, as by the said commissioners may be directed: Provided always, that no such payment shall be fixed by the said commissioners to take place sooner than

than twelve months from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

Art. 7. Whereas complaints have been made by divers merchants and others, citizens of the United States, that during the course of the war in which his Majesty is now engaged, they have sustained considerable losses and damage, by reason of irregular or illegal captures or condemnations of their vessels and other property under colour of authority or commissions from his Majesty, and that from various circumstances belonging to the said cases, adequate compensation for the losses and damages so sustained cannot now be actually obtained, had and received by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings: it is agreed, that in all such cases where adequate compensation cannot, for whatever reason, be now actually obtained, had and received by said merchants and others in the ordinary course of justice, full and complete compensation for the same will be made by the British government to the said complainants. But it is distinctly understood that this provision is not to extend to such losses or damages as have been occasioned by the manifest delay or negligence, or wilful omission of the claimants.

That for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of any such losses and damages, five commissioners shall be appointed and authorized to act in London, exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the preceding article, and after having taken the same oath or affirmation (*mutatis mutandis*) the same term of eighteen months is also assigned for the reception of claims, and they are in like manner authorized to extend the same in particular cases. They shall receive testimony, books, papers and evidence in the same latitude, and exercise the like discretion and powers respecting that subject; and shall decide the claims in question according to the merits of the several cases, and to justice, equity, and the laws of nations.

tions. The award of the commissioners, or any such three of them as aforesaid, shall, in all cases be final and conclusive, both as to the justice of the claim, and the amount of the sum to be paid to the claimant: and his Britannic Majesty undertakes to cause the same to be paid to such claimant in specie, without any deduction, at such place or places, and at such time or times as shall be awarded by the said commissioners, and on condition of such releases or assignments to be given by the claimants, as by the said commissioners may be directed.

And whereas certain merchants and others his Majesty's subjects complain that in the course of the war they have sustained loss and damage by reason of the capture of the vessels and merchandize taken within the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, and brought into the ports of the same, or taken by vessels originally armed in the ports of the said United States.

It is agreed that in all such cases where restitution shall not have been made agreeably to the tenor of the letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Hammond, dated at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1793, a copy of which is annexed to this treaty; the complaints of the parties shall be and hereby are referred to the commissioners to be appointed by virtue of this article, who are hereby authorized and required to proceed in the like manner relative to these as to the other cases committed to them: and the United States undertake to pay to the complainants or claimants in specie, without deduction, the amount of such sums as shall be awarded to them respectively by the said commissioners, and at the times and places which in such awards shall be specified; and on condition of such releases or assignments to be given by the claimants as in the said award
may

may be directed: And it is further agreed that not only the now existing cases of both descriptions but also all such as shall exist at the time of exchanging the ratifications of this treaty, shall be considered within the provisions, intent and meaning of this article.

Art. 8. It is further agreed, that the commissioners mentioned in the two preceding articles shall be respectively paid in such manner as shall be agreed between the two parties; such agreement being to be settled at the time of the exchange of the ratification of this treaty. And all other expenses attending the said commissions shall be defrayed jointly by the two parties, the same being previously ascertained and allowed by the majority of the commissioners. And in the case of death, sickness or necessary absence, the place of every such commissioner respectively shall be supplied in the same manner as such commissioner was appointed, and the new commissioner shall take the same oath or affirmation and do the same duties.

Art. 9. It is agreed that the British subjects who now hold lands in the territories of the United States, and American citizens who now hold lands in the dominions of his Majesty shall continue to hold them according to the nature and tenure of their respective states and titles therein; and may grant, sell, or devise the same to whom they please, in like manner as if they were natives; and that neither they nor their heirs or assigns shall so far as may respect the said lands and the legal remedies incident thereto, be regarded as aliens.

Art. 10. Neither the debts due from individuals of the one nation, to individuals of the other, nor shares, nor monies which they may have in the public funds, or in the public or private banks, shall ever in any event of war or national differences be sequestered or confiscated, it being unjust
and

and impolitic that debts and engagements contracted and made by individuals having confidence in each other, and in their respective governments, should ever be destroyed or impaired by national authority on account of national differences and discontents.

Art. 11. It is agreed between his Majesty and the United States of America; that there shall be a reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between their respective people, in the manner, under the limitations and on the conditions specified in the following articles.

Art. 12. His Majesty consents that it shall and may be lawful during the time herein after limited for the citizens of the United States to carry to any of his Majesty's islands and ports in the West Indies from the United States, in their own vessels, not being above the burthen of seventy tons, any goods or merchandizes being of the growth, manufacture or produce of the said States, which it is or may be lawful to carry to the said islands or ports from the said States in British vessels; and that the said American vessels shall be subject there to no other or higher tonnage duties or charges than shall be payable by British vessels in the ports of the United States; and that the cargoes of the said American vessels shall be subject there to no other or higher duties or charges than shall be payable on the like articles if imported there from the said States in British vessels.

And His Majesty also consents that it shall be lawful for the said American citizens to purchase, load and carry away in their said vessels to the United States from the said islands and ports all such articles being of the growth, manufacture or produce of the said islands as may now by law be carried from thence to the said States in British vessels and subject only to the same duties and charges

on exportation, to which British vessels and their cargoes are or shall be subject in similar circumstances.

Provided always that the said American vessels do carry and land their cargoes in the United States only, it being expressly agreed and declared that during the continuance of this article, the United States will prohibit and restrain the carrying any molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa or cotton in American vessels, either from his Majesty's islands or from the United States to any part of the world except the United States, reasonable sea stores excepted. Provided also, that it shall and may be lawful, during the same period, for British vessels to import from the said islands into the United States, and to export from the United States to the said islands, all articles whatever being of the growth, produce or manufacture of the said islands, or of the United States respectively, which now may, by the laws of the said States, be so imported and exported. And that the cargoes of the said British vessels shall be subject to no other or higher duties or charges, than shall be payable on the same articles, if so imported or exported in American vessels.

It is agreed that this article and every matter and thing therein contained shall continue to be in force during the continuance of the war, in which his Majesty is now engaged; and also for two years from and after the day of the signature of the preliminary or other articles of peace by which the same may be terminated.

And it is further agreed, that at the expiration of the said term, the two contracting parties will endeavour further to regulate their commerce in this respect, according to the situation in which his Majesty may then find himself with respect to the West-Indies, and with a view to such arrangements as may best conduce to the mutual advantage and extension

extension of commerce. And the said parties will then also renew their discussions, and endeavour to agree, whether in any and what cases, neutral vessels shall protect enemy's property; and in what cases provisions and other articles, not generally contraband, may become such. But in the mean time their conduct towards each other in these respects, shall be regulated by the articles herein after inserted on those subjects.

Art. 13. His Majesty consents that the vessels belonging to the citizens of the United States of America, shall be admitted and hospitably received in all the seaports and harbours of the British territories in the East Indies. And that the citizens of the said United States may freely carry on a trade between the said territories and the said United States, in all articles, of which the importation or exportation respectively to or from the said territories, shall not entirely be prohibited. Provided only that it shall not be lawful for them in any time of war between the British government and any other power or state whatever, to export from the said territories, without the special permission of the British government there, any military stores or naval stores or rice. The citizens of the United States shall pay for their vessels when admitted into the said ports no other or higher tonnage duty than shall be payable on British vessels when admitted into the ports of the United States. And they shall pay no other or higher duties or charges on the importation or exportation of the cargoes of the said vessels, than shall be payable on the same articles when imported or exported in British vessels. But it is expressly agreed, that the vessels of the United States shall not carry any of the articles exported by them from the said British territories to any port or place except to some port or place in America,

s 2

where

where the same shall be unladen, and such regulations shall be adopted by both parties, as shall from time to time be found necessary to enforce the due and faithful observance of this stipulation. It is also understood that the permission granted by this article is not to extend to allow the vessels of the United States to carry on any part of the coasting trade of the said British territories; but vessels going with their original cargoes, or part thereof, from one port of discharge to another are not to be considered as carrying on the coasting trade. Neither is this article to be construed to allow the citizens of the said States to settle or reside within the said territories, or to go into the interior parts thereof, without the permission of the British government established there; and if any transgression should be attempted against the regulations of the British government in this respect, the observance of the same shall and may be enforced against the citizens of America in the same manner as against British subjects or others transgressing the same rule. And the citizens of the United States whenever they arrive in any port or harbour in the said territories, or if they should be permitted in manner aforesaid, to go to any other place therein, shall always be subject to the laws, government and jurisdiction of what nature established in such harbour, port or place, according as the same may be: The citizens of the United States, may also touch for refreshment at the island of St. Helena, but subject in all respects to such regulations as the British government may from time to time establish there.

Art. 14. There shall be between all the dominions of his Majesty in Europe and the territories of the United States a reciprocal and perfect liberty of
of

of commerce and navigation. The people inhabitants of the two countries respectively shall have liberty freely and securely, and without hindrance and molestation, to come with their ships and cargoes to the lands, countries, cities, ports, places and rivers within the dominions and territories aforesaid, to enter into the same, to resort there and to remain and reside there, without any limitation of time: And also to hire and possess houses and warehouses for the purposes of their commerce, and generally the merchant and traders on each side shall enjoy the most complete protection and security for their commerce; but subject always as to what respects this article to the laws and statutes of the two countries respectively.

Art. 15. It is agreed that no other or higher duties shall be paid by the ships or merchandize of the one party in the ports of the other, than such as are paid by the like vessels or merchandize of all other nations. Nor shall any other or higher duty be imposed in one country on the importation of any articles the growth, produce or manufacture of the other than are or shall be payable on the importation of the like articles being of the growth, produce or manufacture of any foreign country. Nor shall any prohibition be imposed on the exportation or importation of any articles to or from the territories of the two parties respectively, which shall not equally extend to all other nations.

But the British government reserves to itself the right of imposing on American vessels entering into the British ports in Europe a tonnage duty equal to that which shall be payable by British vessels in the ports of America. And also such duty as may be adequate to countervail the difference of duty now payable on the importation of European and Asiatic goods when imported into

the United States in British or in American vessels.

The two parties agree to treat for the more exact equalization of the duties on the respective navigation of their subjects and people in such manner as may be most beneficial to the two countries. The arrangements for this purpose shall be made at the same time with those mentioned at the conclusion of the 12th article of this treaty, and are to be considered as a part thereof. In the interval it is agreed, that the United States will not impose any new or additional tonnage duties on British vessels, nor increase the now subsisting difference between the duties payable on the importation of any article in British or in American vessels.

Art. 16. It shall be free for the two contracting parties, respectively to appoint consuls for the protection of trade, to reside in the dominions and territories aforesaid, and the said consuls shall enjoy those liberties and rights which belong to them by reason of their function. But before any consul shall act as such he shall be in the usual forms approved and admitted by the party to whom he is sent; and it is hereby declared to be lawful and proper, that in case of illegal or improper conduct towards the laws or government, a council may either be punished according to law, if the laws will reach the case or be dismissed, or even sent back, the offended government assigning to the other their reasons for the same.

Either of the parties may except from the residence of consuls such particular places as such party shall judge proper to be so excepted.

Art. 17. It is agreed, that in all cases where vessels shall be captured or detained on just suspicion of having on board enemy's property, or of carrying to the enemy any of the articles which are contraband of war; the said vessel shall be brought to

to the nearest or most convenient port ; and if any property of an enemy should be found on board such vessel, that part only which belongs to the enemy shall be made prize, and the vessel shall be at liberty to proceed with the remainder without any impediment. And it is agreed, that all proper measures shall be taken to prevent delay, in deciding the cases of ships or cargoes so brought in for adjudication ; and in the payment or recovery of any indemnification adjudged or agreed to be paid to the masters or owners of such ships.

Art. 18. In order to regulate what is in future to be deemed contraband of war, it is agreed, that under the said denomination shall be comprized all arms and implements serving for the purposes of war, by land or sea, such as cannon, muskets, mortars, petards, bombs, grenados, carcasses, saucisses, carriages for cannons, muske trests, bandoliers, gunpowder, match, saltpetre, balls, pikes, swords, head pieces, cuirasses, halberts, lances, javelines, horsefurniture, holsters, belts, and generally all other implements of war ; as also timber for ship building, tar, or rosin, copper in sheets, sails, hemp and cordage, and generally whatever may serve directly to the equipment of vessels, unwrought iron and fir planks only excepted ; and all the above articles are hereby declared to be just objects of confiscation, whenever they are attempted to be carried to an enemy.

And whereas the difficulty of agreeing on the precise cases in which alone provisions and other articles not generally contraband may be regarded as such, renders it expedient to provide against the inconveniences and misunderstandings which might thence arise : It is further agreed, that whenever any such articles so becoming contraband according to the existing laws of nations, shall for that reason be seized, the same shall not be confiscated, but the

owners thereof shall be speedily and completely indemnified; and the captors, or in their default the government under whose authority they act, shall pay to the masters or owners of such vessel the full value of all articles, with a reasonable and mercantile profit thereon, together with the freight, and also the demurrage incident to such detention.

And whereas it frequently happens, that vessels sail for a port or place belonging to an enemy, without knowing that the same is either besieged, blockaded or invested; it is agreed, that every vessel so circumstanced may be turned away from such port or place, but she shall not be detained nor her cargo, if not contraband, be confiscated, unless after notice she shall again attempt to enter; but she shall be permitted to go to any port or place she may think proper: Nor shall any vessel or goods of either party, that may have entered into such port or place, before the same was besieged, blockaded or invested by the other, and be found therein after the reduction or surrender of such place, be liable to confiscation, but shall be restored to the owners or proprietors thereof.

Art. 19. And that more abundant care be taken for the security of the respective subjects and citizens of the contracting parties, and to prevent their suffering injuries by the men of war, or privateers of either party, all commanders of ships of war and privateers and all others the said subjects and citizens shall forbear to do any damage to those of the other party, or committing any outrage against them, and if they act to the contrary, they shall be punished, and shall also be bound in their persons and estates to make satisfaction and reparation for all damages, and the interest thereof, of whatever nature the said damages may be.

For this cause all commanders of privateers before they receive their commissions shall hereafter
be

be obliged to give before a competent judge, sufficient security by at least two responsible sureties, who have no interest in the said privateer, each of whom, together with the said commander, shall be jointly and severally bound in the sum of fifteen hundred pounds sterling, or if such ships be provided with above one hundred and fifty seamen or soldiers, in the sum of three thousand pounds sterling, to satisfy all damages and injuries, which the said privateer or officers or men, or any of them may do or commit during their cruise, contrary to the tenor of this treaty, or to the laws and instructions for regulating their conduct; and further, that in all cases of aggressions the said commissions shall be revoked and annulled,

It is also agreed, that whenever a judge of a court of admiralty of either of the parties, shall pronounce sentence against any vessel or goods or property belonging to the subjects or citizens of the other party a formal and duly authenticated copy of all the proceedings in the cause, and of the said sentence, shall if required be delivered to the commander of the said vessel, without the smallest delay, he paying all legal fees and demands for the same.

Art. 20. It is further agreed that both the said contracting parties, shall not only refuse to receive any pirates into any of their ports, havens, or towns, or permit any of their inhabitants to receive, protect, harbour, conceal or assist them in any manner, but will bring to condign punishment all such inhabitants as shall be guilty of such acts or offences.

And all their ships with the goods or merchandizes taken by them and brought into port of either of the said parties, shall be seized as far as they can be discovered, and shall be restored to the owners or the factors or agents duly deputed and authorized in

in writing by them (proper evidence being first in the court of admiralty for proving the property) even in case such effects should have passed into other hands by sale, if it be proved that the buyers knew or had good reason to believe, or suspect that they had been piratically taken.

Art. 21. It is likewise agreed, that the subjects and citizens of the two nations, shall not do any acts of hostility or violence against each other, nor accept commissions or instructions so to act from any foreign prince or state, enemies to the other party; nor shall the enemies of one of the parties be permitted to invite, or endeavour to enlist in the military service any of the subjects or citizens of the other party; and the laws against all such offences shall be punctually executed. And if any subject or citizen of the said parties respectively shall accept any foreign commission, or letters of marque, for arming any vessel to act as a privateer against the other party, it is hereby declared to be lawful for the said party to treat and punish the said subject or citizen, having such commission or letters of marque, as a pirate.

Art. 22. It is expressly stipulated that neither of the said contracting parties will order or authorize any acts of reprisal against the other, on complaints of injuries or damages, until the said party shall first have represented to the other, a statement thereof, verified by competent proof and evidence, and demanding justice and satisfaction, and the same shall either have been refused or unreasonably delayed.

Art. 23. The ships of war of each of the contracting parties shall, at all times, be hospitably received in the ports of the other, their officers and crews paying due respect to the laws and government of the country. The officers shall be treated with that respect which is due to the commissions
which

which they bear ; and if any insult should be offered to them by any of the inhabitants, all offenders in this respect shall be punished as disturbers of the peace and amity between the two countries. And his Majesty consents that in case an American vessel, should by stress of weather, danger from enemies or other misfortunes be reduced to the necessity of seeking shelter in any of his Majesty's ports, into which such vessel could not in ordinary cases claim to be admitted, she shall, on manifesting that necessity to the satisfaction of the government of the place, be hospitably received and permitted to refit and to purchase at the market price such necessaries, as she may stand in need of, conformably to such orders and regulations as the government of the place, having respect to the circumstances of each case shall prescribe. She shall not be allowed to break bulk or unload her cargo unless the same shall be *bona fide* necessary to her being refitted. Nor shall be permitted to sell any part of her cargo, unless so much only as may be necessary to defray her expenses, and then not without the express permission of the government of the place. Nor shall she be obliged to pay any duties whatever except only on such articles as she may be permitted to sell for the purpose aforesaid.

Art. 24. It shall not be lawful for any foreign privateers (not being subjects or citizens of either of the said parties) who have commissions from any other prince or state in enmity with either nation, to arm their ships in the ports of either of the said parties, nor sell what they have taken, nor in any other manner to exchange the same ; nor shall they be allowed to purchase more provisions than shall be necessary for their going to the nearest port of that prince or state from whom they obtained their commission.

Art. 25. It shall be lawful for the ships of war and privateers belonging to the said parties respectively, to carry whithersoever they please the ships and goods taken from their enemies, without being obliged to pay any fee to the officers of the admiralty, or to any judges whatever ; nor shall the said prizes when they arrive at, and enter the ports of the said parties be detained or seized, neither shall the searchers or other officers of those places visit such prizes (except for the purpose of preventing the carrying off any part of the cargo thereof on shore in any manner contrary to the established laws of revenue, navigation, or commerce) nor shall such officers take cognizance of the validity of such prizes ; but they shall be at liberty to hoist sail and depart as speedily as may be, and carry their said prizes to the place mentioned in their commissions or patents, which the commanders of the said ships of war or privateers shall be obliged to shew. No shelter or refuge shall be given in their ports to such as have made a prize upon the subjects or citizens of either of the said parties ; but if forced by stress of weather, or the danger of the sea, to enter therein, particular care shall be taken to hasten their departure, and to cause them to retire as soon as possible. Nothing in this treaty contained shall, however, be construed or operate contrary to former and existing public treaties with other sovereigns or states. But the two parties agree, that while they continue in amity neither of them will in future make any treaty that shall be inconsistent with this or the preceding article.

Neither of the said parties shall permit the ships or goods belonging to the subjects or citizens of the other to be taken within cannon shot of the coast, nor in any of the bays, ports, or rivers of their territories by ships of war, or others having com-
mission

mission from any prince, republic, or state whatever. But in case it should so happen, the party whose territorial rights shall thus have been violated, shall use his utmost endeavours to obtain from the offending party, full and ample satisfaction for the vessel or vessels so taken whether the same are vessels of war or merchant vessels.

Art. 26. If at any time a rupture should take place (which God forbid) between his Majesty and the United States, merchants and others of each of the two nations residing in the dominions of the other shall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade, so long as they behave peaceably and commit no offence against the laws; and in case their conduct should render them suspected and the respective governments should think proper to order them to remove, the term of twelve months from the publication of the order shall be allowed them for that purpose, to remove with their families, effects, and property, but this favour shall not be extended to those who shall act contrary to the established laws, and for greater certainty, it is declared that such rupture shall not be deemed to exist while negotiations for accommodating differences shall be depending, nor until the respective ambassadors or ministers, if such there shall be, shall be recalled or sent home on account of such differences, and not on account of personal misconduct according to the nature and degrees of which both parties retain their rights, either to request the recall, or immediately to send home the ambassador or minister of the other: and that without prejudice to their mutual friendship and good understanding.

Art. 27. It is further agreed that his Majesty and the United States on mutual requisitions, by them respectively, or by their respective ministers or officers authorized to make the same, will deliver up to justice all persons who being charged with murder

murder or forgery, committed within the jurisdiction of either, shall seek an asylum within any of the countries of the other, provided that this shall only be done on such evidence of criminality as, according to the laws of the place, where the fugitive or person so charged shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the offence had there been committed. The expense of such apprehension and delivery shall be borne and defrayed by those who make the requisition and receive the fugitive.

Art. 28. It is agreed, that the first ten articles of this treaty shall be permanent, and that the subsequent articles, except the twelfth, shall be limited in their duration to twelve years, to be computed from the day on which the ratifications of this treaty shall be exchanged, but subject to this condition—that whereas the said twelfth article will expire by the limitation therein contained, at the end of two years from the signing of the preliminary or other articles of peace which shall terminate the present war in which his Majesty is engaged, it is agreed, that proper measures shall by concert be taken for bringing the subject of that article into amicable treaty and discussion, so early before the expiration of the said term, as that new arrangements on that head, may by that time be perfected and ready to take place. But if it should unfortunately happen, that his Majesty and the United States should not be able to agree on such new arrangements, in that case all the articles of this treaty, except the first ten shall then cease and expire together.

Lastly. This treaty, when the same shall have been ratified by his Majesty and by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of their Senate, and the respective ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be binding and obligatory

gatory on his Majesty and on the said States, and shall be by them respectively executed and observed with punctuality and the most sincere regard to good faith; and whereas it will be expedient in order the better to facilitate intercourse and obviate difficulties, that other articles be proposed and added to this treaty, which articles from want of time and other circumstances, cannot now be perfected—it is agreed, that the said parties will, from time to time, readily treat of and concerning such articles, and will sincerely endeavour so to form them, as that they may conduce to mutual convenience, and tend to promote mutual satisfaction and friendship; and that the said articles, after having been duly ratified, shall be added to, and make a part of this treaty. In faith whereof, we, the undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of Great-Britain and the United States of America, have signed this present treaty, and have caused to be affixed thereto the seal of our arms.

Done at London, this Nineteenth day of
November, One Thousand Seven Hun-
dred and Ninety Four.

GRENVILLE,	(Seal)
JOHN JAY.	(Seal)

CONDITIONAL RATIFICATION, on the part
of the United States, in Senate, June 24, 1795.

Resolved, that the Senate do consent to, and advise the President of the United States to ratify the treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, concluded at London, the 19th November, 1794, on condition that there be added to the said treaty, an article whereby it shall be agreed

to

suspend so much of the 12th article, as respects the trade, which his said Majesty thereby consents may be carried on between the United States and his Islands in the West Indies, in the manner, and on the terms and conditions therein specified.

And the Senate recommend to the President to proceed without delay to further friendly negotiations with his Majesty on the subject of the said trade, and of the terms and conditions in question.

The moment the treaty appeared, all the friends of France were in motion. Every column of their infamous gazettes abounded with abuse of it; but, when the object was to make General Washington give up what was supposed to be his determination, the faction were too wise to rely on partial attacks; they, therefore fell to their ancient and former successful method of exciting opposition and rendering it formidable, that is, the assembling of *town-meetings*; and it is worthy of remark, that Boston, too, the old fruitful mother of revolt, did, on this occasion also, set the example.

On the 13th of July, the Democrats at Boston drew up a remonstrance consisting of nineteen objections to the treaty, which they addressed to the President, praying him not to sign that instrument, which remonstrance they dispatched to him *by express*. In the mean time, town-meetings were called and remonstrances of the like nature were formed in every principal town of the United States. Two or three of the notices, issued at this time, will give the reader an idea of the unparalleled effrontery of the democratic faction.*

* At Philadelphia, on the 4th of July, (the anniversary of the *glorious* Independence), Mr. Jay and the Senate were burnt in effigy. The mob, headed by one Abraham Coats, an old Whig, carried through the streets a transparent painting, of which the democratic printers gave the following description.—

“The

Portsmouth, N. H. July 15.

“ ÇA IRA !!—This (citizens of every description), this is the crisis of your fate. To-morrow you are warned to assemble at the State-house, on the most momentous occasion of your lives. Your all is at stake. The Senate have bargained away your blood-bought privileges, for less than a mess of pottage. That perfidious, corrupting, and corrupted nation whom you vanquished with your sword, are endeavouring to vanquish you, with their usual, but alas ! too successful weapon, *British gold* !! Your only remaining hope is *in the President* ! Assemble then to a man ! Shut up your shops and warehouses : let all business cease. Repair to the State-house. Remonstrate with coolness, but spirit against his signing a treaty, which will be the *death warrant of your Trade*, and entail beggary on us, and our posterity for ever !!! If you regard yourselves, your children, and above all the honour of your country, assemble at the sound of the bells.”

“ The figure of John Jay upon it. The figure was in full statue, holding in his right hand a pair of scales, containing in one scale, American Liberty and Independence, kicking the beam ; in the other, British Gold, in extreme preponderance. In his left hand a treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, which he extended to a group of Senators, who were grinning with pleasure and grasping at the treaty. From the mouth of the figure issued these words, ‘ come up to my price, and I will sell you my country.’ The figure was burned at Kensington amid the acclamations of hundreds of citizens. Thus ended the procession, and thus terminated the anniversary of American independence.”

At New York the opposers of the treaty hoisted the French flag, marched about the city with drums beating, and, after collecting a vast multitude, proceeded to a place called the Battery, where they burnt the treaty in form.

BRITISH TREATY.

Baltimore, July 31.

“ But why so much dread of a ratification by
 “ the President ? Why so much petitioning of him ?
 “ Can any citizen, enlightened by the Constitu-
 “ tion of the United States, imagine that HIS
 “ *signature will finish the business ?* No : could
 “ such a forced construction be put upon the pow-
 “ er given by the Constitution “ *to make treaties.*”
 “ The Constitution and the whole country would
 “ *be put into the hands of a President and twenty*
 “ *Senators ! who could barter all away with any*
 “ *foreign prince for a mere ideal equivalent.* Do
 “ we not see in the proposed treaty (which has al-
 “ ready been approved of by twenty Senators) the
 “ very Constitution itself in the most fundamental
 “ parts torn in pieces ! *the trial by jury given up !*
 “ *and even the place of trial of our citizens surren-*
 “ *dered to Great Britain !!!* contrary to the de-
 “ claration of the Constitution, which expressly
 “ says, of crimes not committed within any state,
 “ that the trial shall be at such place or places as
 “ the Congress may by law have directed ?”

Philadelphia, July 31.

“ A card to the Republicans.—We congratu-
 “ late you on the republican triumph over aris-
 “ tocratic treachery, and British influence, by the
 “ universal reprobation of the *treaty of submission*
 “ and its perfidious votaries ; and assure you, that
 “ it is considered here by all the whigs, as the
 “ offspring of perfidy, engendered by the reptile
 “ enemies of republics, and that its only votaries
 “ here, are the old tories and their toad eaters,
 “ who no doubt think we are highly favoured by
 “ this limited dependance on Great Britain ; as
 “ they but the other day were of opinion we ought
 “ to

“ to be subject to an *unconditional submission* ; but
 “ as these miscreants then escaped punishment by
 “ our lenity, they are a little upon their guard lest
 “ the unerring hand of justice should yet reward
 “ them according to their deserts.”

“ VOX POPULI.”

Richmond, July 31.

“ NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, that *in case the*
treaty entered into by that d—n'd Arch Traitor
 “ *J—n J—y with the British tyrant should be rati-*
 “ *fied*—A petition will be presented to the next
 “ General Assembly of Virginia at their next ses-
 “ sion, praying that the said state *may recede from*
 “ *the Union*, and be left under the government
 “ and protection of One Hundred Thousand Free
 “ and Independent Virginians.”

“ P. S. As it is the wish of the people of the
 “ said state, *to enter into a treaty of amity, com-*
 “ *merce and navigation, with any other state, or*
 “ *states of the present Union*, who are averse to
 “ returning again under the galling yoke of Great
 “ Britain, the Printers of the (at present) United
 “ States are requested to publish the above notifi-
 “ cation.”*

* A little before this notice appeared, there was a town-meeting assembled at Philadelphia, at the head of which meeting were, M'Clenachan, M'Shean, Dallas, and Dr. Shippen.—M'Clenachan was chosen chairman.—The important business being ended, a citizen made a motion, that the welcome of the meeting should be given to a firm friend of the rights of man, just arrived from Ireland (last from France,) *Citizen Archibald Hamilton Rowan*. The name of Rowan was hardly out of his mouth, when the whole assembly burst out into an acclamation, such as is heard from the summit of mount Rhodope, when the drunken God retires to his pleasures; or

That an opposition so violent and so general was calculated to make the President hesitate, every one must allow. He never was before placed in so critical a situation. He stood *alone*. There was no man, or body of men, to share with him the popular odium. That he was very sensible of the danger of losing his beloved popularity, that he *feared* this loss, that he really did balance whether he should ratify or not, and that he was finally emboldened to do it by a *mere accident* totally unconnected with the treaty, will be made evidently appear by and by.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ In every act of administration I have sought
 “ the happiness of my fellow-citizens. My system for the attainment of this object has uniformly been to overlook all personal, local, partial considerations: to contemplate the United States as one great whole:—to confide, that sudden impressions, when erroneous, would yield to candid reflections—and to consult only the substantial and permanent interests of our country.”

“ Nor have I departed from this line of conduct,
 “ on the occasion which has produced the resolutions contained in your letter of the thirteenth instant.”

(to make use of an apter comparison) such as resounds through the infernal regions, when Satan announces the arrival of one doubly damned. Silence being at last restored, the same citizen, holding up a little pamphlet containing one of Mr. Mason's treaties, exclaimed, “What a damned treaty!” After a short pause, he continued; “I make a motion, that every good citizen in this assembly kick this damned treaty to hell.” He must have supposed that his good fellow citizens knew the way to hell; and to tell the truth, some of them had much more the appearance of furies than of sober honest men.

“ Without

“ Without a predilection for my own judgment I
“ have weighed with attention every argument which
“ has at any time been brought into view. But
“ the constitution is the guide which I never can
“ abandon. It has assigned to the President the
“ power of making treaties with the advice and
“ consent of the Senate. It was doubtless suppo-
“ sed that these two branches of government would
“ combine without passion and with the best means
“ of information those facts and principles upon
“ which the success of our foreign relations will
“ always depend ; that they ought not to substi-
“ tute for their own conviction the opinions of
“ others ; or to seek truth through any channel
“ but that of a temperate and well informed in-
“ vestigation.”

“ Under this persuasion I have resolved on the
“ manner of executing the duty before me. To the
“ high responsibility attached to it, I freely sub-
“ mit : and you, gentlemen, are at liberty to
“ make these sentiments known as the grounds of
“ my procedure. While I feel the most lively
“ gratitude for the many instances of approbation
“ from my country, I can no otherwise deserve
“ it than by obeying the dictates of my consci-
“ ence.”

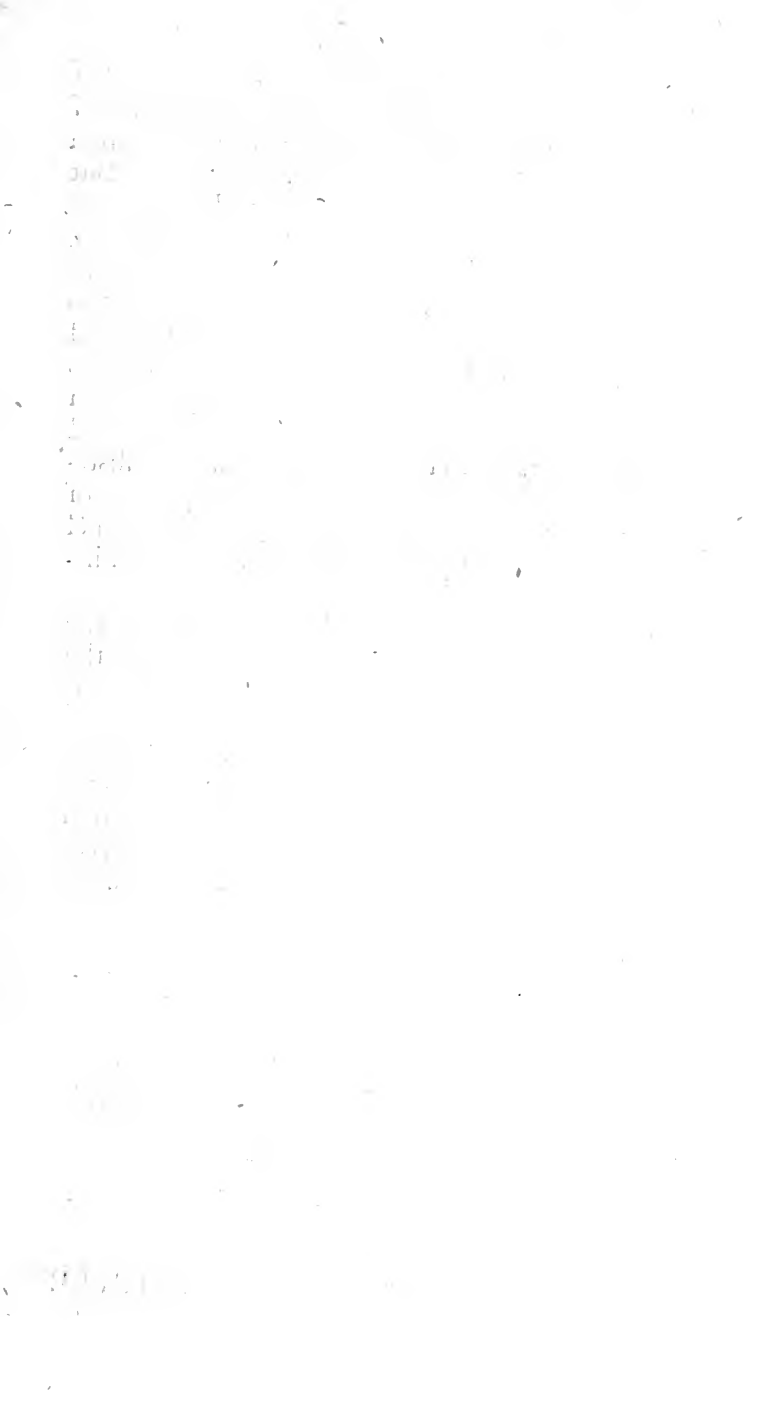
“ With due respect,

“ I am, Gentlemen,

“ Your obedient,

“ G. WASHINGTON.”

“ United States, 28th July 1795.



A LITTLE
PLAIN ENGLISH,
ADDRESSED TO
THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES,
ON THE
T R E A T Y,
AND ON THE
CONDUCT OF THE PRESIDENT RELATIVE THERETO,
IN ANSWER TO
“THE LETTERS OF FRANKLIN.”

A LITTLE
PLAIN ENGLISH.

“ An habitation giddy and unsure
“ Hath he who buildeth on the *vulgar* heart.
“ Oh thou fond *Many!* with what loud applause
“ Didst thou beat Heav’n with blessing *Bolinbroke,*
“ Before he was what thou wouldst have him be?
“ And now, being trimmed up in thy own desires,
“ Thou beastly feeder, art so full of him,
“ That thou provok’st thyself to cast him up.”

SHAKESPEARE.

A TREATY of amity, commerce, and navigation, with Great Britain, is a thing which has been so long and so ardently desired on your part, and so often solicited by your government, that one cannot help being astonished that even the democratic, or French, faction should have the temerity to raise a cry against it, now it is brought so near a conclusion. It is true this perverse faction is extremely contemptible, as to the property they possess, and the real weight they have in the community; and their dissatisfaction, which is sure to accompany every measure of the Federal Government, is a pretty certain sign of the general approbation of those who may be properly called the people: but it must be acknowledged at the same time, that they have for partizans almost the whole
of

of that description of persons, who, among us royalists, are generally designated by the name of mob. Being an enemy to the administration, be it what it may, is always a sufficient recommendation with these latter, and is looked upon as an ample compensation for a lost reputation or a want of talents. Those who are simple enough to listen to a demagogue, seldom care much about his moral character. With the rights of the citizens, their virtue, and their sovereignty, eternally vibrating on his lips, he may, for ought they care, have a heart as black as Tartarus. If he writes, let him fill his pages with frothy declamation, and vaunting bombast, with the canting jargon of modern republicans, and it matters little what arrangement he makes use of. Ambiguity and confusion are even an advantage to him, they are a labyrinth in which he loses the wretches whom he has enticed from their duty. In short, his business is to awaken in his reader, jealousy, envy, revenge and every passion that can disgrace the heart of man, to lull his gratitude, reason, and conscience asleep, and then let him loose upon society. Such is the eloquence, and such the object of Franklin.

Far be it from me to pretend to a rivalry with this fawning mob orator; I would not for the world make one convert from this tattered flock; unenvied I leave him to the plaudits of his cajoled "fellow citizens, and the fraternal hugs of your insidious friends and allies."

It is become a kind of established custom, even among those who are the firm friends of your government, to yield to the prejudice of the populace, in passing eulogiums on the reigning powers in France; or, at least, in observing a cautious silence with respect to their insidious, not to say hostile, conduct towards the United States. These gentlemen have, undoubtedly, their reasons for

for this; for my part, I have none, and therefore I shall take the liberty to say what, I am sure, they must think on the subject.

On all hands it is allowed, that the parasite of a prince is a most despicable character; a popular parasite must then be doubly despicable. It is possible for the supple courtier to find something like an apology for his self-humiliation; one may be dazzled by the splendour of a crown, or blinded by the munificence of a friend and protector; but what must be the man (if, indeed, he be worthy of the name,) who can crawl to the dregs of mankind? who can make a voluntary surrender of the superiority with which nature has endowed him? who can sacrifice truth, honour, justice, and even common sense, to the stupid stare and momentary huzza of the populace whose welfare affects him not, and whom, in his heart, he despises?

The letters of Franklin are a string of philippics against Great Britain and the executive of the United States. They do not form a regular series, in which the subject is treated in continuation: the first seems to be the overflowings of passion bordering on insanity, and each succeeding one the fruit of a relapse. To follow the author step by step through such a jumble, would be to produce the same kind of disgust in you as I myself have experienced; I shall therefore deviate from the order, or rather disorder, which Franklin has found it convenient to employ, and endeavour to bring the subject before you in a less complicated point of view.

The censure of Franklin has three principal objects; the treating with Great Britain at all, the terms of the treaty, and the conduct of the President relative to the negotiation.

I. He

I. He asserts, that to form a commercial treaty with Great Britain is a step, at once unnecessary, impolitic, dangerous and dishonourable.

II. That, if forming a treaty with Great Britain were consistent with sound policy, the terms of the present treaty are disadvantageous, humiliating and disgraceful to the United States.

III. That supposing the terms of the treaty to be what every good American ought to approve, yet the conduct of the President, relative to the negociation and promulgation of it, has been highly improper, and even monarchical, and for which, he deserves to be impeached.

If Franklin has made out any one of these assertions ; if he has proved, that to treat with Great Britain is unnecessary, impolitic, dangerous and dishonourable, that the terms of the present treaty are disadvantageous, humiliating and disgraceful, or that the President has pursued a conduct in the negociation for which he deserves to be impeached, you will all do well to join the remonstrating throng, that are now hunting the President to his retreat at Mount Vernon ; but if he has proved none of these ; if all that he has said on the subject be mere cavilling and abuse, scolding, reviling, and execrating ; if he be every where detected of misrepresentation, inconsistency, and flat contradiction ; if, in short, it appears, that his ultimate object is to stir up the unwary to an indecent and even violent opposition against the Federal Government, then, if you consult your own interests, you will be upon your guard, and weigh well the consequences, before you determine on such an opposition.

I. Franklin asserts, that to form a commercial treaty with Great Britain is a step, at once unnecessary, impolitic, dangerous and dishonourable.

1. It is unnecessary, because “commercial treaties are an artificial means to obtain a natural end. They are the swathing bands of commerce, that impede the free operations of nature.” This will not detain us long; it is one of those chimerical notions that so well characterize the Parisian school. Nobody but a set of philosophical politicians ever imagined the plan of opening all the ports in the world to all the vessels in the world, “of interweaving and confounding the interests of all nations, of forming the inhabitants of the earth into one vast republic, of rendering the whole family of mankind enlightened, free and happy.” When this plan shall be put in execution with success, I will allow that commercial treaties are unnecessary, but, ’till then, I must contend for the country.

“The two countries,” says Franklin, “if necessary in their products to each other, will seek an intercourse.” This is all I wanted him to admit, to prove that an exchange of commodities between our countries is necessary; for that they have sought an intercourse with each other, and that they do now seek that intercourse more than ever, is most certain; so much so with respect to this country, that about one half of her exports are now made to Great Britain and her dominions. But, says he, “this exchange ought to be left to itself; for the commerce of nations ought to be like the trade between individuals, who deal with those who give them the best treatment, and the best bargains.” I subscribe to the justice of the latter part of this remark with all my heart; nothing could be more convenient for my purpose; for if nations, like individuals, trade with those who treat them best, and give them the best bargains, how much better treatment and better bargains must you receive from Great Britain than from other nations,

nations, when you purchase from her three times as much as from all the rest of the world put together? But, that this extensive exchange, however necessary to both parties, should be left to regulate itself, I cannot believe; for, keeping up the comparison, the commerce of nations being like the trade between individuals, it will ever be found, I believe, that treaties are as necessary to a continuance of good understanding in the former as written contracts are in the latter.

An observation presents itself here, which must not be omitted. Franklin objects to forming a treaty with Great Britain, because, says he, “She is famed for perfidy and double dealing, her popular star is interest, artifice with her is a substitute for nature, &c. &c.” God knows if all this, and much more that he has said, be true; but, if it be, I am sure it makes strongly for a treaty, in place of against one; for proceeding still upon his own comparison, “that commerce between nations is like trade between individuals,” certainly no individual would ever think of dealing to any amount with a person famed for perfidy and double dealing, without binding him down by written articles.

Out of this observation grows another of not less importance. Franklin has taken an infinite deal of pains to persuade you that the *Président* should have formed a treaty with France instead of Great Britain? Your commerce with France, even in the fairest days of her prosperity, never amounted to more than a fifth part of your commerce with Great Britain; and, if what Franklin says be true, France is the most magnanimous, generous, just, honourable, (*humane!*) rich, and powerful nation upon the earth; and can you then want a written bargain with France, when a mere trifle is the object,

ject, and none with Great Britain, when half you have is at stake? Shall it be said that you distrust France, that honourable, that *rich* nation? that you bind her down with "hard biting laws," while you admit Great Britain, "whose days," Franklin assures you, "are numbered," to a kind of family intercourse, where the bands of affection are supposed to supply the place of law?

Franklin incautiously acknowledges, "that you "repeatedly solicited a commercial treaty with "Great Britain," and this is very true. The first question put to Mr. Hammond, on his arrival here, was to know, if he was authorized to treat on that subject. This was also the ostensible object of Mr. Madison's famous resolutions. "To force the nations of Europe, and particularly Great Britain, "to enter into commercial treaties with you." The words nations of Europe were afterwards changed for Great Britain. These resolutions were a long time and are still a favourite theme of panegyric among the French faction; all the democratic societies in the Union have passed resolves in approbation of them; they have toasted at every patriotic dinner, every civic feast, and even our Franklin himself sings forth their praises. How comes it then, that all these people now deprecate the idea of making a treaty with Great Britain? This will be no longer a secret, when patriot Madison's real subject is known, and to know this you have only to compare his resolutions with a passage in citizen Genet's instructions. The fact is, patriot Madison had no such thing as a treaty in view; nothing on earth was further from his wishes. War was his object; but this he could not propose in direct terms, and therefore, he proposed such restrictions on the British commerce, as he was sure, if adopted, would produce a war. He failed, and Great Britain, in consent-

consenting to what he pretended was the object of his resolutions, and the President and Senate in ratifying it, are now loaded with the execrations of all his partizans. But what must be the patriot's remorse? What will he be able to say against treating with a nation, whom he wished to force to a treaty with you?

2d. Treaties are impolitic, because they lead to war: and consequently a treaty with Great Britain is exceptionable on that account. This is another idea borrowed from the legislators of your sister republic, and surely it is not, for that reason, less whimsical. "Treaties lead to war," says Franklin, "and war is the bane of republican government." Treaties of alliance offensive and defensive lead to war, it is their object; but how treaties of amity, commerce, and navigation can lead to war; how a treaty like that under consideration, made expressly to terminate all differences in an amicable manner, to produce satisfaction and good understanding, to establish universal peace and true friendship between the parties, how a treaty like this can lead to war, is, to me, inconceivable. With just as much reason might it be said that treaties of peace lead to war, that independence leads to subjugation, that liberty leads to slavery, and that good leads to evil.

"Treaties," says our demagogue, "are like partnerships, they establish intimacies, which sometimes end in profligacy, and sometimes in ruin and bankruptcy, distrust, strife, and quarrel;" and then on he goes with an abusive apostrophe (which decency prevents me from copying here) inferring that you ought, on this account, to avoid a connection, as he terms it, with Great Britain. This comparison is not so good as the last we quoted; treaties of amity and commerce do not at all resemble partnerships. "The commerce of nations is like trade between individuals;" but commercial

mercial treaties resemble contracts between individuals of separate interests, and not co-partnerships. A co-partnership implies an union of interests, a participation in profits and losses, in debts and credits. Are any of these understood by a commercial treaty? Assuredly not. In a commercial treaty two nations say : on these terms we will buy and sell, of and to each other. Had you made a treaty with Great Britain to club your merchandize and revenues, and to carry on trade under the firm of Madam Britain and Miss America, such a treaty would, indeed, have resembled a partnership, and would very probably have been attended with all the inconveniences, stated by Franklin ; but commercial treaties are, I repeat it, among nations what written bargains are among individuals, and the former have exactly the same tendency as the latter, that is, to render mistakes, disputes, and quarrels, less frequent.

But, however, even if treaties do lead to war, it is rather surprising to hear Franklin object to them on that account, when one third part of his book is taken up with invectives against the President for not forming a treaty with France, the direct object of which was your taking a part with her in the present war. " The treaty proposed by citizen " Genet," says he, " was a treaty on liberal and " equitable principles." What were these liberal principles now? Citizen Genet came forward with an offer to treat, which offer, it must be confessed, contained no express desire of involving you in a war ; but what were the citizen's private instructions concerning this treaty? For it is from these that you are to judge, and not from the contents of a mere complimentary letter. What were they then? " Citizen Genet," says the Executive Council, " shall open a negociation, which may become a national agreement in which two great
VOL. II. U " people

“ people shall suspend their commercial and po-
 “ litical interest, to befriend the empire of liberty,
 “ wherever it can be embraced.—Such a pact,
 “ which the people of France will support with
 “ all the energy that distinguishes them, will
 “ quickly contribute to the general emancipation
 “ of the New World.—But should the American
 “ administration adopt a wavering conduct, the
 “ executive council charges him, in expectation
 “ that the American government will finally de-
 “ termine to make a common cause with us, to
 “ take such steps as will appear to him exigencies
 “ may require, to serve the cause of liberty and
 “ the freedom of the people.—The guarantee of
 “ our West India Islands shall form an essential
 “ clause in the new treaty, which will be proposed :
 “ the Executive Council, in consequence, recom-
 “ mend to citizen Genet to sound early the
 “ disposition of the American government, and to
 “ make it a *sine qua non* of their free commerce to
 “ those islands, so essential to the United States.”

Here then are the “ liberal principles,” so much
 boasted of by the partizans of France ! A treaty
 on these principles is what Franklin would have
 approved of. For not forming a treaty on these
 principles he loads your President with abuse, while
 he declares, that his objection to treaties, is “ they
 “ lead to war, and war is the bane of republican
 “ government” ! A demagogue, like a liar, should
 have a good memory.

3d. To form a treaty of commerce with Great
 Britain is dangerous, he says ; because “ it is form-
 “ ing a connection with a monarch, and the in-
 “ troduction of the fashions, forms, and prece-
 “ dents of monarchical governments, has ever ac-
 “ celerated the destruction of republics.” To sup-
 pose this man in earnest would be to believe him
 guided

guided by something below even the imbecility of a frenchified republican. It would be to suppose him almost upon a level with a member from the Southward, who gave his vote against a law, merely because it appeared to him to be of monarchical origin, while, at the same moment, he represented a state, whose declaration of rights says: "The good people are entitled to the common law of England, and the trial by jury, according to the course of that law, and to the benefit of such of the English statutes, as existed at the time of their emigration, and which, by experience, have been found applicable to their local and other circumstances, and of such others as have been since made in England, or Great Britain, and have been introduced here, &c." Can the people who have been so careful in preventing their future rulers from depriving them of the benefit of the laws of England, who look upon the being governed by those laws as the most inestimable of their rights, be afraid of introducing among them the fashions, forms, and precedents of England? Can it be possible, that they are afraid of introducing among them what they already possess, and what they declare they will never part with?

It is not my object to intrude on you my opinion of the fashions, forms and precedents, as Franklin calls them, of the British government; they may be better or they may be worse than other governments; but be they what they may, they are nearly the same as your own, and they are the only ones ever adopted by any nation on earth to which yours bear the most distant resemblance; therefore, admitting, for a moment, what Franklin says to be true, "that you should make treaties with no nation whose fashions and forms are different from your own," it follows of course, that,

if you ought not, on this account to make treaties with Great Britain ; you ought to do it with no nation in the world.

But this would not suit the purpose of Franklin, who, at the same time that he reprobates the idea of making a treaty with Great Britain ; inculcates the propriety and even necessity of making one with France. “ If foreign connexions are to be formed,” says he, “ they ought to be made with nations whose influence and example would not poison the fountain of liberty, and circulate the deleterious streams to the destruction of the rich harvest of our revolution—tell me your company, and I will tell you who you are.” And then he tells us, that “ there is not a nation in Europe, with an established government, whose examples should be our imitation,” but that France is our natural ally ; that she has a government congenial with our own, and that there can be no hazard of introducing from her, principles and practices repugnant to freedom.” Take care what you are about, Mr. Franklin ! If there be none of the established governments in Europe congenial to your own, the inevitable conclusion is, that neither you nor your sister Republic have an established government ! Do you begin to perceive the fatal effects of your want of memory ?

But, are you governed by an assembly of ignorant caballing legislators ? An assembly of Neros, whose pastime is murder, who have defied the God of Heaven, and, in idea, have snatched the thunder from his hand to hurl it on a crouching people ? And do you resemble the republican French ? Have you cast off the very semblance of virtue and religion ? Do you indeed, resemble those men of blood, those profligate infidels, who, uniting the frivolity of the monkey to the ferocity of the tiger, can go dancing to the gallows, or butchering

cherishing their relations to the air of *ah! ça ira?* If you do, you have not much to fear from the introduction of the fashions, forms, and precedents of other nations.

Another source of danger, that Franklin has had the sagacity to discover in treating with Great Britain, is, that she “meditates your subjugation, and “a treaty will give her a footing amongst you “which she had not before, and facilitate her “plans.” The executive council of France ordered citizen Genet to tell you something of this sort, in order to induce you to embark in the war for the liberty and happiness of mankind. “In “this situation of affairs,” says the Executive Council, “when the military preparations in “Great Britain become every day more serious, we “ought to excite, by all possible means, the zeal “of the Americans, who are as much interested “as ourselves in disconcerting the destructive projects of George III, in which they are probably “an object.” I beseech you to pay attention to this passage of the instructions. When military preparations were making against France, she wanted your aid, and so the good citizen was ordered to tell you that you were the object of those preparations. The citizen was ordered to tell you a falsehood; for the war has now continued three years, and George III. has not made the least attempt against your independence.

You have the surest of all guarantees that Great Britain will never attempt any thing against your independence, her interest. I agree with Franklin, that “her interest is the main spring of all her actions, and that, had not her interest been implicated, the commercial relation between you “and her would long since have been destroyed.” Her interest will ever dictate to her to keep up that relation, and certainly making an attempt

on your independence is not the way to do that ; for, as to her succeeding in such an attempt, I think every American will look on that as impossible. The idea of your " again becoming colonies of " Great Britain," may be excused in Franklin and the other stipendaries of the French republic, but an American, who holds the good of his country in higher estimation than a bundle of assignats, and who entertains such a disgraceful belief, must have the head of an idiot and the heart of a coward.

Besides, has not our demagogue himself given a very good reason for your having nothing to apprehend from Great Britain ? " Happy for this " country," says he, " the days of that corrupt " monarchy are numbered ; for already has the " impetuous valour of our insulted French brethren rushed like a torrent upon the Dutch Provinces, and swept away the dykes of aristocracy. " Perhaps Heaven will direct their next steps to " Great Britain itself, and by one decisive stroke, " relieve the world from the miseries which that " corrupt government has too long entailed upon " mankind." I shall not stop here to prove, that it was not an act of a corrupt government to frame such laws, as the people of these States have bound their rulers never to depart from. ; nor have I time to prove, that peopling the United States, changing an uncouth wilderness into an extensive and flourishing empire, in little more than a century, was not entailing miseries upon mankind. I hasten to my subject ; and, I think, I need take no great deal of pains to prove to you, that, if Great Britain be in the situation in which Franklin has described her, you have very little to fear from her. A nation whose " days are numbered," and particularly who is in continual expectation of a domiciliary visit from the French, is rather to be pitied than feared.

And

And yet this same Franklin, who tells you that the "days of Great Britain are numbered, that she "is upon the point of annihilation, and that no-
"thing can save her but repentance in sackcloth
"and ashes;" this same Franklin who says all this, and much more to the same purpose; this same Franklin winds up almost every one of his letters in declaring, that you have every thing to fear from her, and that nothing on earth can save you but France! "That gallant nation, whose
"proffers we have neglected, is the sheet anchor
"who sustains our hopes, and should her glorious
"exertions be incompetent to the great object she
"has in view, we have little to flatter ourselves
"with from the faith, honour, or justice of Great
"Britain.—The nation on whom our political ex-
"istence depends we have treated with indiffe-
"rence bordering on contempt.—Citizens, your
"only security depends upon France, and by the
"conduct of your government, that security has
"become precarious." Now before I go any further, I shall bring another sentence from Franklin, which will certainly give you a favourable idea of the veracity and consistency of that demagogue.
"Insulated as we are, not an enemy near to ex-
"cite apprehension, and our products such as are
"indispensible, we need neither the countenance
"of other countries, nor their support!" What, no enemy near to excite apprehension, no need of support, and yet "France is the sheet anchor of your
"hopes!" and yet "your political existence de-
"pends upon her," and yet, because your government has refused to make a common cause with her, "your security has become precarious." To a hireling writer nothing is so necessary as memory.

If Great Britain had really been so foolish as to form a design upon your independence, and your

political existence had depended upon France, it would, I believe, have been at an end long before this time. Citizen Genet was ordered to promise you, that his country would "send to the American ports a sufficient force to put them beyond insult;" but, if they had defended your possessions no better than they have their own, they would have brought you into a poor plight. If the fleet, they were so good as to offer you, had been no more successful than the others they have sent out, it might as well have remained at home, blocked up, as their fleets now are, and left you to the defence of your own privateers. They have given but a poor sample of their protecting talents, either at home or abroad. Letting two-thirds of their colonies be taken from them, and making war upon the rest themselves, is not the way to convince me that you would have been safe under their protection. Nobody but a madman would ever commit his house to the care of a notorious incendiary.

Franklin proceeds exactly in the manner of citizen Genet (of whom he is a pupil, as we shall see by and by;) First, he tells you that "Great Britain has contemplated either your misery or subjugation, and that armaments were made to this end." Then he tells you, that "France alone has saved you; that she is now fighting your battles; that you owe her much; that she gave you independence, and that she alone is able to preserve it to you." After this, fearing that these weighty considerations may not have the desired effect, he has recourse to the last trick in the budget of a political mountebank, menaces. He tells you dreadful tales about the resentment of France, and this he makes a third source of danger in treating with Great Britain.

"The

“ The conduct of the French Republic,” says he, “ towards us has been truly magnanimous, and, “ in all probability, she would have made many “ sacrifices to preserve us in a state of peace, if we “ had demeaned ourselves towards her with becoming propriety ; but can we calculate upon “ her attachment, when we have not only slighted “ but insulted her ? To enter into a treaty with “ Great Britain at this moment, when we have “ evaded a treaty with France ; to treat with an “ enemy against whom France feels an implacable hatred, an enemy who has neglected no “ means to desolate that country, and crimson it “ with blood, is certainly insult.” Then on he goes to terrify you to death. “ Citizens of America,” says he, “ Sovereigns of a free country, “ your hostility to the French Republic (in making a treaty with Great Britain, he means) has “ lately been spoken of in the National Convention, and a motion for an inquiry into it has “ been only suspended from prudential motives.— “ The book of account may soon be opened “ against you—what then, alas ! will be your prospects ?—To have your friendship questioned by “ that nation, is, indeed, alarming !”—There spoke the Frenchman ! there broke forth the vanity of that vaunting Republic !

The above are certainly the most unfortunate expressions that ever poor demagogue launched forth. What he has here said, completely destroys the position he meant it to support. If you must be so cautious in your demeanour towards the French Republic, if you dare treat with no nation against whom she feels an implacable hatred, if to treat with a nation that has endeavoured to desolate that country, is to expose your conduct to an inquiry in the National Convention ; if to have your friendship questioned by that nation is an alarming circumstance ;

cumstance ; if to refuse treating with her, when and how she pleases, is to open the doomsday-book of account against you ; if all this be so, I can see no reason for apprehensions on account of your independence, for you are no more than mere colonies of France. Your boasted revolution is no more than a change of masters.

If you cannot enter into a treaty with Great Britain, without insulting France, and consequently exposing yourselves to her vengeance, neither can you with any other nation on whom she thinks proper to make war, and against whom she pleases to feel an implacable hatred. Thus she might cut you off from all the nations in the world. An arrangement, for instance, with Spain, has long been looked on as a desirable object ; but as she is an enemy of France at this time, as she has neglected no means to desolate that country and crimson it with blood, you would not, according to Franklin, dare enter into a negotiation with her, however opportune the moment, and however advantageous the terms. Falsely, then, does he call you “ the Sovereigns of a free country ;” it is mere mockery to give you this title, if you dare not exercise any one act of sovereignty, without exposing yourselves to danger, without being liable to chastisement.

The fact is, as you stand in no need of the protection of France, so you have no cause to fear her resentment. She may grumble curses against you, but speak out she will not. She dares not, she dares not make a second attempt to overturn your Federal Government, by appealing from “ the President to the Sovereign People.” You are “ the sheet anchor” of her hopes, and not she of yours. To you she clings in her shipwrecked condition, to you her famished legions look for food,

food, and to you her little pop-gun fleets fly for shelter from the thundering foe. What have you then to expect, what to fear from a nation like this? Nothing, alas! but her insidious friendship.

4. Franklin asserts that it is dishonourable to treat with Great Britain; because, says he, “her King is a tyrant that invaded our territory, and “carried on war against us.” He seems to have made a small mistake here; for at the time the King of Great Britain invaded *your* territory, it was *his* territory, and you his loving subjects, at least, you all declared so. However, without recalling circumstances, that can be of no use in the present discussion, admitting all that has been said on this subject to be true; that the fault was entirely on the side of Great Britain, that all her conduct was marked with duplicity and cruelty, and all yours with frankness and humanity; admitting all this, and that is admitting a great deal, yet, how long has it become a principle in politics, that a nation, who has once done an injury to another, is never after to be treated with upon a friendly footing? Is this a maxim with any other state in the world? How many times have you seen France and England, after the most bloody contests, enter into an amicable treaty of commerce, for their mutual advantage? Have they not done so since the American war? and will they not do so again as soon as the present war is over? Nay; has not France very lately, unmindful of her promises and oaths, entered into a treaty of amity, and almost alliance, with his Royal Majesty of Prussia, who had invaded her territory, without having the least shadow of excuse for so doing? Is it for you alone, then, to sacrifice your interest to your vengeance, or rather to the vengeance of France?

Are

Are you to make everlasting hatred an article of your political creed, because she wills it ?

Your revolution certainly was not founded upon this basis : all that was contemplated by it, was, a political separation from Great Britain. The declaration of independence, that act, passed by the "*Worthies*" of America, and of which you are so very proud, does not inculcate the doctrine of perpetual revenge ; just the contrary. " Nor
" have we been wanting to our British brethren,
" (not French brethren, observe :) we have
" warned them, from time to time, of attempts
" made by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have
" reminded them of the circumstances of our
" emigration and settlement here. We have
" appealed to their native justice and magnanimity,* and we have conjured them, by the
" ties of our common kindred to disavow these
" usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt
" our connections and correspondence. They,
" too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and
" of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our
" separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest
" of mankind, enemies in war—in peace, friends." Now, conform yourselves to these principles, turn a deaf ear to the insinuations of your new brethren, and I am sure you will see nothing in the King of Great Britain's invading his own dominions in the year 1776, to prevent you from making a treaty with him, upon honourable terms, in 1795.

* This Congress, you see, were not of opinion that their ancestors were, " treacherous, cruel, savage monsters." They were not like the patriots of the present day ; but then, they were not animated by the gold of the French Republic, or they were, perhaps, in hopes of coaxing the people of England to join them in the rebellion.

To this old grudge, Franklin adds some injuries recently received from Great Britain. The first of these is, her depredations on your commerce. To urge the depredations on your commerce as a reason against treating is to find fault with a thing for being calculated to accomplish its object; by treating you have guarded against such depredations for the future, and have obtained a compensation for the past. I shall enter more fully into this subject, when I come to speak of the terms of the treaty: at present it is necessary to speak of the depredations, only as they render a treaty with Great Britain dishonourable.

In the first place the injury does not appear to me to be of so outrageous a nature, as Franklin would persuade you it is. It was possible, at least, that the orders of the British Court might be misunderstood, or misconstrued. It is also possible that great part of the vessels seized were really employed in a commerce, that would justify their seizure, by the law of nations. Admitting, however, that the British cruizers and courts of admiralty have done no more than fulfil the intention of their King, and that none of your captured vessels were employed in a contraband trade; yet, I cannot allow that the depredations committed on your trade is a sufficient reason, or, indeed, any reason at all, for your not treating with the nation who has committed them. To maintain the contrary is to adopt that system of eternal irreconciliation, which I shall ever deprecate, and which militates against every principle of justice and sound policy. The partizans of France, and Franklin among the rest, were for demanding satisfaction in such a manner that Great Britain, consistent with her honour (for I must be excused for thinking she has some left) could not grant it; but, must not a treaty have been the consequence, at last? Suppose they had succeeded in plunging you into a war, that war

itself must have ended in a treaty, and a treaty much more dishonourable, perhaps, than the one now negotiated; unless, indeed, their intention was to wage a *bellum eternum*, side by side with their French brethren, till there should be no government left to treat with. These people are always for violent measures; they wanted a commercial treaty with Great Britain, but then she was to be "forced" into it; and now again they wanted satisfaction, but it is not worth a farthing, because no violence has been used to obtain it. They are of the taste of Swift's "true English dean that was hanged for a rape;" though they have all their hearts can wish for, their depraved appetites render it loathsome, because it has been yielded to them without a struggle.

But, it is, or ought to be, the opinion of Franklin himself that depredations on your commerce ought to be no bar to your treating with the nation who has committed them; for he has exhausted himself to persuade you, that a treaty ought to have been made with France, and yet it is notorious, that her depredations have very far outstripped those of the British. Within the last five or six months the French have seized upwards of 200 of your vessels, some they have confiscated, others they have released after having taken their cargoes, and others are yet in suspense. Many of these vessels have been seized in their own ports, where they went in full confidence, and with the most upright intentions. The mariners have been thrown into prison, where many of them now are; the masters have been robbed, stripped, and beaten, by some of the vilest wretches that ever existed. They have the insolence to call the American Masters, the caned captains; "Les capitaines à coup de bâton." Let Franklin find you, if he can, an instance of an American ship being seized at sea

sea by the English, and burnt without further ceremony. These things the French have done, and yet he would not think it dishonourable to enter into a treaty with them.

I know I shall be told that the depredations of the French, here mentioned, have taken place since the departure of Mr. Jay for Great Britain ; we will then confine ourselves to the depredations committed by the two nations at that epoch. And here, luckily, we have not to depend upon rumour and news-paper report : we have a sure guide, the report of the Secretary of the State to the President, which was communicated to the Senate and House of Representatives on the 5th of March, 1795.

“ Against the French it is urged ; 1st, that
“ their privateers harrass our trade no less than those
“ of the British. 2d. that two of their ships of
“ war have committed enormities on our vessels.
“ 3d. that their courts of admiralty are guilty of
“ equal oppression. 4th, that these points of ac-
“ cusation, which are common to the French and
“ British, the French have infringed the treaties
“ between the United States and them, by sub-
“ jecting to seizure and condemnation our vessels
“ trading with their enemies in merchandize, which
“ that treaty declares not to be contraband, and
“ under circumstances not forbidden by the law of
“ nations. 5th. that a very detrimental embargo
“ has been laid on our vessels in French ports.
“ 6th. that a contract with the French govern-
“ ment for coin has been discharged in depre-
“ ciated assignats.”

If, then, the French privateers had harrassed your trade no less than those of the British, if their ships of war also had committed enormities on your vessels, if their courts of admiralty had been guilty of equal oppression, and if they had, besides, in-
fringed

fringed the treaty already existing between you, had embargoed your vessels, and cheated your merchants by discharging a contract for cash in depreciated assignats, what could you see in their conduct to invite you to a treaty with them, whilst a treaty with Great Britain would, on account of the depredations committed by her, be dishonourable?

On this subject Franklin takes occasion to introduce one of his conventional threats. "As long," says he, "as we kept up the farce, that the negotiation was designed to produce, an indemnity for the past, and security for the future, so long did France not complain; but now we have abandoned it to the same uncertainty as before, and have favoured Great Britain at her expense, she cannot, she will not be passive;" and then he says, "If France should act as our conduct merits, she will not seize our vessels." Without inquiring here what reason France can have to complain about your not having obtained an indemnity for your losses; without inquiring how your conduct merits her resentment, because you have abandoned your commerce to the same uncertainty as before; without inquiring what she ought to do, you have only to look at what she has done, and you have no reason to fear that the treaty will increase her depredations. In short, ever since the French found, that your government was determined not to join them in the war, they have neglected no opportunity of doing you mischief, wherever they could, and dared to do it, and, perhaps, it is owing to the British Freebooter (as Franklin calls Admiral Murray), that you are now blockaded up in your ports. I know nothing of the British Admiral's instructions; perhaps they were no more favourable to you than those of the French Minister; but I think, you ought to feel
a con-

a considerable obligation to him for having rid your coasts and towns of the swarthy red-cap'd citizens that infested them.

Another injury which Franklin says you have received from Great Britain, and which renders a treaty with her dishonourable, is her letting the Indians and Algerines loose upon you. "Great Britain," says he, "urged on the Savages, by the mouth of Dorchester (it might have been Lord Dorchester in his mouth), to butcher our citizens, and desolate our frontier; and, by her intrigues, let loose a band of Algerine robbers; barbarous almost as Britons, to prey upon our commerce, and make slaves of free men." I have more than once observed, that having received an injury from a nation cannot, in itself, render treating with such a nation dishonourable; if, therefore, the charge with respect to the Indians were well founded, it could make nothing against the present treaty. But I deny that the fact has ever been proved. Governor Simcoe denies it positively, and no evidence has ever been produced to substantiate it. It is, at best, then, but a matter of surmise; and when Franklin asserts, that, "In the action between General Wayne and the Indians at Fort Recovery, a number of British officers and soldiers were joined with the Savages and led them on to the combat, and that they were painted to conceal their diabolical character," he discovers a character full as diabolical as that of those persons would have been, had his assertion been true.

The populace of this country are easily imposed on by an observation that the French emissaries never fail to make on this subject. They tell them, and which is very true, that the Indians receive their implements of war from the British: but they

fail to tell them, at the same time, that these implements of war are the commodities, that the Indians receive in exchange for their furs, and that to make such an exchange a subject of complaint against the British, is to tell them that they shall not trade with the Indians, because you are at war with them. Considering the temper which has been but too prevalent in these States during the present war; considering how convenient this accusation against the British is to some of your military people, how many defeats it has accounted for, and how many more it may yet account for; considering how eagerly stories of this sort are sought after, and how they are exaggerated, by a set of news-paper printers, who have rendered a free press almost a public curse; considering all this, people ought to be very cautious how they form their belief on events at such a distance, events, concerning which imposition is so easy, and detection so difficult, concerning which passion, character, and interest all combine to propagate deception.

With respect to the charge against Great Britain and the Algerines, it is the most whimpering, babyish complaint that ever disgraced the lips of manhood, and when a member of the House of Representatives made mention of it, he deserved to have his backside whipped. Great Britain, for her convenience, has, it seems, employed her mediation, and prevailed on the Dey of Algiers to make an arrangement with the court of Lisbon, which, arrangement gives the Algerines an opening into the Atlantic, where they take your vessels. This is unfortunate for you; but how is it hostile towards you, on the part of Great Britain? How is it letting the Algerines loose upon you? It is, indeed, letting them loose upon the great ocean, where they may do what they can; but to call it
letting

letting them loose on you, is mere childishness. One would think, to hear Franklin, that Great Britain held the Indians and Algerines in a string, like a brace of bull-dogs, ready to let loose on whomsoever she pleases. A clear proof that this is is not the case (a proof that pleases me the better, because I am sure Franklin and all his tribe will subscribe to it), is, she has not yet let the Algerines loose on their French brethren; a thing that she most certainly would have done, if she could.

But, it seems, Great Britain is not only to refrain from every act and deed, that may give the Algerines an opportunity of incommoding you; she is not only to sacrifice her interest, and that of her allies, to yours; but she ought to take an active part in your protection. A writer against the treaty expresses himself thus: "Our negotiator
" has omitted to make any stipulation for the pro-
" tection and security of the commerce of the
" United States to Spain, Portugal and the Medi-
" terranean, against the depredations of the Alge-
" rine and Barbary corsairs, although he knew that
" this forms one of the most beneficial branches of
" our trade."* This writer certainly forgot, that you were independent. He talks about Mr. Jay's making this stipulation, just as if it depended upon him alone. When he was about it, he might as well have stipulated for Great Britain to protect you against all the nations in the world, as she used to do formerly. And do you then stand in need of Great Britain to protect you? Do you stand in need of the protection of this "ruined nation?" This nation whom "nothing will save but repent-
" ance in sackcloth and ashes?" This "insulat

* See the Aurora of 21st July, 1795.

“ Bastile of slaves ? ” Do you stand in need of them to protect you, “ the Sovereigns of a free country ? ” Is it dishonourable to treat with Great Britain, and yet it is honourable to accept of her protection ? Prevaricating demagogues ! You accuse the envoy extraordinary of having made a humiliating treaty, while you blame him for not having made you drink off the cup of humility to the very dregs.

The truth is, these depredations on your commerce by all the belligerent nations, and by the Algerines, is what ought to surprise nobody ; it is one of those little rubs to which your situation naturally exposes you : independence, for some years, at least, is not a rose without a thorn. All that ought to surprise you in contemplating this subject, is, that France, to whom alone you give shelter, for whose cause your good citizens have ever felt the utmost unbounded enthusiasm, and for whose successes they have toasted themselves drunk and sung themselves hoarse a thousand times, should stand foremost on the list of the spoilers ; and that, notwithstanding this, your patriots should insist upon a close alliance with her, while they reprobate the treating with Great Britain as an act at once unnecessary, impolitic, dangerous and dishonourable.

Having now gone through Franklin’s reasons for not treating with Great Britain, I proceed to examine his objections to the terms of the treaty itself.

II. Franklin asserts, that if forming a treaty with Great Britain were consistent with sound policy, the terms of the present treaty are disadvantageous, humiliating, and disgraceful to the United States.

This

This is the place to observe, that the letters of Franklin were written before the contents of the treaty were known. He introduces his subject in the following words : “ The treaty is said to be arrived, and as it will be of serious consequence to us and to our posterity, we should analyze it before it becomes the supreme law of the land.” That is to say, before it be known. “ It will be said,” continues he, “ to be a hasty opinion which shall be advanced before the treaty itself shall be before us ; but when it shall be promulgated for our consideration, it will have all the force of law about it, and it will then be too late to detect its baneful effects.” Certainly no mortal ever heard reasoning like this before ; what a lame apology for an inflammatory publication, intended to prepossess the rabble against the treaty ! What candour could be expected from a demagogue, who found it just and fit to analyze a thing, before he knew what it contained ? Who can be surprised to hear him assert, “ that the western posts are the price of a commercial treaty, that no provision is made for indemnity to the merchants, that the French are sacrificed to the British, that Great Britain has been meanly courted and that all the essential interests of the United States are given up ?”

To answer objections, made thus at random, would be taking advantage of the poor demagogue ; I shall, therefore, lend him the aid of those that have been made since, by the citizens of Boston, assembled in town-meeting.

It is not my design to dwell upon every objection that has been started, either by Franklin or the town-meeting ; I shall content myself with answering those only in which they discover an extra-

ordinary degree of patriotic presumption or dishonesty.

Art, I. Says that there shall be peace and friendship between the two countries.

As nobody but the French can have any thing to say against this article, and as I have already answered all that their emissary Franklin has said on the subject, I look upon it as unexceptionable.

Art. II. Stipulates, that the western posts shall be evacuated in June next; that in the mean time the United States may extend their settlements to any part within the boundary line as fixed at the peace, except within the precincts and jurisdiction of the posts; that the settlers now within those precincts shall continue to enjoy their property, and that they shall be at full liberty to remain there, or remove; that such of them as shall continue to reside within said boundary lines, shall not be compelled to become citizens of the United States, but that they may do so if they think proper, and that they shall declare their choice in one year after the evacuation of the forts, and that all those who do not declare their choice during that time, are to be looked upon as citizens of the United States.

The citizens of the Boston town-meeting object to "this article, because it makes no provision to indemnify the United States for the commercial and other losses, they have sustained, and the heavy expenses to which they have been subjected in consequence of being kept out of possession for twelve years in direct violation of a treaty of peace."

The good citizens, before they talked about indemnity, should have been certain that Great Britain was not justifiable in her detention of the western

western posts ; because, if it should appear that she was, to make a claim for indemnity would be ridiculous.

By a treaty of peace, Great Britain was to give up these posts, and by the same treaty, the United States were to remove certain legal impediments to the payment of British debts, that is to say, debts due to British merchants before the war. These debts were to a heavy amount, and Great Britain had no other guarantee for their payment than the posts. / Your credit, at that time, was not in the most flourishing state ; and that the precaution of having a security was prudent, on the part of Great Britain, the event has fully proved. / Nobody pretends that the impediments, above mentioned, are removed ; nay, some of the States, and even their members in Congress, aver that they ought not to be removed ; what right have you, then, to complain of the British for not giving up the posts ? Was the treaty to be binding on them only ? If this be the case, your language to Great Britain resembles that of Rousseau's tyrant : " I make a covenant with you, entirely at your expense and to my profit, which you shall observe as long as it pleases me, and which I will observe as long as it pleases myself." This is not the way treaties are made now-a-days.

It is said that the federal government has done all in its power to effect the removal of the impediments, according to stipulation ; but to this I answer, that all in its power is not enough, if the impediments are not removed. Are they removed, or are they not ? is the only question Great Britain has to ask. The States from which the debts are due (or rather a knot of interested individuals, devoid of honour, in each of them), having enacted laws that counteract those made by the general government, may be pleaded in justification of

the latter, in a domestic point of view ; but every one must perceive, that it would be childish in the extreme to urge it is an excuse for a failure towards foreign nations. The very nature of a treaty implies a power in the contracting parties to fulfil the stipulations therein contained, and, therefore, to fail from inability is the same thing as to fail from inclination, and renders retaliation, at least, just and necessary. Upon this principle, founded on reason and the law of nations, Great Britain was certainly justifiable in her detention of the western posts. The foundation of indemnity being thus removed, the superstructure falls to the ground.

Another objection, though not to be found in the resolutions of the Boston citizens, deserves notice, " That the leaving British subjects in possession of their lands, &c. in the precincts of the forts, will be to establish a British colony in the territory of the United States, &c."* This is an objection that I never should have expected from the true republicans. The treaty says that the settlers in those precincts shall have full liberty to choose between being subjects of the King of Great Britain and citizens of the United States : and can these republicans doubt which they will choose ? Can they possibly suppose that the inhabitants near the forts will not rejoice to exchange the humiliating title of subject for the glorious one of citizen ? Can they, indeed, imagine that these degraded satellites of the tyrant George will not be ready to expire with joy at the thought of becoming " sovereigns of a free country ?" Each individual of them will become a " Prince and legislator" by taking

* See the Aurora, 21st July.

the oath of allegiance to the United States; is it not, then, sacrilege, is it not to be a libticide to imagine that they can hesitate in their choice? How came these enlightened citizens to commit such a blunder? How came they to suppose, that the people in the precincts of the forts were more capable of distinguishing between sound and sense, between the shadow and the substance than they themselves are. Thousands of times have you been told that the poor Canadians were terribly oppressed, that they were ripe for revolt, that the militia had refused to do their duty, and, in short, that the United States had nothing to do but to receive them. And now, when a handful of them are likely to be left amongst you, you are afraid they will choose to remain subjects to the King of Great Britain?

But suppose they should all remain subjects; what will be the consequence of it to you? Here are hundreds and thousands of British subjects on the eastern parts of the States; men who never have, nor never will take the oath of allegiance to the United States, and certainly they are none the worse for it. An arrival from Ireland is boasted of through the whole country, though perhaps it consists of a hundred or two of poor devils, capable of nothing but eating and drinking; and is not a colony already settled, a colony consisting of persons born in the country, understanding in the trade with the Indians, and calculated to give that trade a start in your favour at once; is not a colony like this preferable to any thing of the sort, you can purchase in Europe?

Art. III. Stipulates for a free intercourse and commerce between the two parties, as far as regards their territories in America. This commerce is to be carried on upon principles perfectly reciprocal; but it is not to extend to commerce carried on by water,

water, below the highest ports of entry. The only reservation in this article, is, the King of Great Britain does not admit the United States to trade to the possessions belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company.

To this the citizens of Boston object; "because
 " it admits British subjects to an equal participa-
 " tion with our own citizens of the interior traf-
 " fic of the United States with the neighbouring
 " Indians, through our whole territorial dominion;
 " while the advantages ostensibly reciprocated to
 " our citizens, are limited both in their nature and
 " extent."

The word ostensibly is the only one, of any weight in this objection. They could not say that the advantages were not reciprocal, as stipulated for; they, therefore found out the word ostensible to supply the plan of contradiction. The article provides for advantages perfectly reciprocal, and to say that they are only ostensibly so, is to say; the treaty says so, to be sure, but it does not mean so. The fault then naturally falls upon the words, which say one thing and mean another.

Art. IV. Relates to a survey of a part of the Mississippi.

Art. V. Relates to a survey of the River St. Croix.

It would have been extremely hard, indeed, if these articles had not escaped censure. I cannot, indeed, say that they have escaped it altogether; for, I have been informed that the democratic society of Pennsylvania have declared that the United States should be bounded by nothing but the sea. This, we may presume, is in consequence of the intimation of the Executive Council of France, who ordered citizen Genet to assure the Americans, that with their help, nothing was easier than to finish the emancipation of the New World.

Art.

Art. VI. Relates to debts due by citizens of the United States to British subjects, and provides, "that by the operation of various lawful impediments since the peace, not only the full recovery of the said debts has been delayed, but also the value and security thereof have been, in several instances impaired and lessened, so that by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, the British creditors cannot now obtain, and actually have and receive full and adequate compensation, for the losses and damages which they have thereby sustained: It is agreed, that in all such cases where full compensation for such losses and damages cannot, for whatever reason, be actually obtained, had and received, by the said creditors in the ordinary course of justice, the United States will make full and complete compensation for the same to the said creditors." Then the article provides for the appointment of commissioners, who are to be invested with full power to determine finally on the several claims. Two commissioners are to be appointed by each party, and these four are to appoint a fifth.—"Eighteen months from the day on which the commissioners shall form a board, shall be assigned for receiving complaints and applications. And the United States undertake to cause the sums so awarded to be paid in specie, &c."

Art. VII. Relates to the spoiliations on your commerce by British subjects, and provides, "that during the course of the war, in which his Majesty is now engaged, certain citizens of the United States have sustained considerable loss and damage by reason of irregular, or illegal captures, or condemnation of their vessels and other property, under colour of authority or commissions from his Majesty; and that from various circumstances belonging to the said cases, adequate compensation for the losses so sustained cannot now be actually obtained, had and received, by the ordinary course of judiciary proceedings; it is agreed that in all cases where adequate compensation cannot, for whatever reason, be now actually obtained, had and received by the said merchants and others in the ordinary course of justice, full and complete compensation for the same will be made by the British Government to the said complainants"—"and for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of such losses and damages five commissioners shall be appointed, and authorized to act in London, exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the preceding article."—"The same term of eighteen months is also assigned for the reception of claims, and they are in like manner authorized to extend the same."—"And his

“Britannic Majesty under-
“takes to cause the same to
“be paid to such claimant in
“specie, &c.”

I have placed these two articles opposite to each other to give the reader an opportunity of comparing them; because the citizens of Boston town-meeting seem to found their objection to both on the dissimilarity between them. “The capture,” say they, “of vessels and property of the citizens of
“the United States, made under the authority of
“the government of Great Britain is a national
“concern, and claims arising from such captures
“ought not to have been submitted to the decision
“of their admiralty courts as the United States are
“thereby precluded from having a voice in the
“final determination in such cases. Besides, the
“indemnification proposed to be made, is to be
“sought by a process tedious and expensive, in
“which justice may be delayed to an unreasonable
“time, and eventually lost to many of the suf-
“ferers from their inability to pursue it; and this
“mode of indemnification bears no proportion
“to the summary method adopted for the satisfac-
“tion of British claims.”

You will not be able to account for this, 'till you are told, that the town-meeting citizens never read the treaty, before they had sanctioned these resolutions. You see by the 6th and 7th articles, that the mode of indemnification to the British subjects and American citizens is one and the same, that both are to be finally determined by commissioners, and both paid punctually in specie; and yet the citizens of the Boston town-meeting see a difference in every part of it. They complain that the decision of American claims is left to the English courts of admiralty, when the treaty says it shall be left, in cases where satisfaction cannot
be

be obtained in the ordinary course of justice, to commissioners, with full power to determine finally. They oppose things to each other which are not only the same in substance, but almost word for word. What must the President think of the town-meeting, when he received from them a senseless memorial, or rather ordinance, like this?

It would be truly curious to know what mode of indemnification these citizens would have wished for. Can there be a fairer, more honourable mode, than that fixed on by the treaty? It is likely they would have been contented, if George and Pitt had been made to ask pardon of their Majesties the sovereigns of America. I do not think it is at all improbable that they might believe, that this was easy for Mr. Jay to accomplish. They have been so long cozened and cajoled by their public servants, as some of their masters have the complaisance to call themselves, that they begin to think themselves the sovereigns, not only of the United States, but of the universe.

What do they mean by the mode of indemnification bearing no proportion to the summary method, adopted for the satisfaction of British claims? Can any method be too summary in the payment of debts, that have been due for twenty years? I think not. However, as I have already observed, summary or not summary, the method is exactly the same as that adopted for the satisfaction of American claims, and, therefore, if you have reason to complain, so have the British, and this would be singular, indeed.

Art. VIII. Provides for the payment, &c. of the above-mentioned commissioners.

This article has had the good fortune to escape censure.

Art. IX. Stipulates, that the subjects of Great Britain holding lands in the United States and the citizens of the United States now holding

holding lands in the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, shall continue to hold them, and, in what respects those lands shall not be regarded as aliens.

The Boston town-meeting citizens say nothing about this article. It was for some days a subject of newspaper abuse; but the opposers soon began to perceive, that they were fighting against nothing; the article not being made to introduce a new system, but merely to establish an old one.

Art. X. Stipulates, that neither the debts due from individuals of the other, nor shares, nor money which they may have in the public funds, or in the public or private banks, shall ever, in any event of war, or national differences, be sequestered or confiscated.

That people who disapprove of paying debts that have been due twenty years, should also disapprove of this article is not at all surprising; accordingly the citizens of the Boston town-meeting highly disapprove of it; "because," say they, "the exercise of this right (the right to confiscate, &c.) may contribute to preserve the peace of the country, and protect the right and property of the citizens."

It is well known (and will be well remembered too) that, before Mr. Jay's departure for England, a resolution was entered into by the House of Representatives, on the motion of Mr. Dayton, to sequester all debts and funds, the property of British subjects: The article before us guards against this, and as there was not an honest man in the Union (a majority of the House of Representatives excepted,) who did not execrate Mr. Dayton's plundering motion, as it was called, so, I believe there is not one of that description, who does not most cordially approve of the article which will, for the future, render such motions abortive.

It was easy to foresee that the King of Great Britain would never come to any arrangement, without a provision of this kind. It would have been much better for his subjects to break off all communication with you at once, than to have not only their profits but their capitals depending on the arbitrary will of your government. Where would be the security of merchants trading to this country, if the debts due to them might at any time be seized to pay for damages, received by Americans from somebody else.

Credit is with nations as with individuals; while unimpaired it is almost unbounded, it can perform any thing; but one single retrograde step, and it is blasted, it is nothing. Your credit has suffered much from the motion of Mr. Dayton, and had the sequestration become a law, or had the mercantile world been left in doubt concerning what might happen in future, one half of the great capitals that now give wings to your commerce, would have found their way to other countries. Riches seek security, as rivers seek the sea.

It is pretended by the town-meeting, that a power to confiscate might contribute to the peace of the country. This was certainly a very curious reason on which to found an objection to the article, and not less so, as coming from a faction, who have constantly censured the President for not joining France in the present war. But, in place of contributing to the peace of the country, would it not be an eternal source of war? and is not this the true reason why all the old committee-men, privateers-men, and confiscators are loath to abandon it? I think so. It is to be supposed that the Congress will, for some years, consist, partly, of men who would prefer the glutting of their impotent revenge to the good of their country; and of others who, while your connections with France
continue,

continue, will, for solid reasons too evident to need a mention, prefer her interests to yours. These men will ever seek a quarrel with Great Britain. With respect to war, however, they will be cautious, as far as open professions go. The people have not yet forgot what war is. But, armed with confiscating powers, they would brandish them at every turn; and plunder is a thing that pleases the populace so much better than fighting, it is so much easier to beat in the door of a scrutoire, than to beat a British fleet or army, there is very little fear but their confiscating measures would be approved of by the majority in number. But, would all end here? Would the British look tamely on? I am of opinion they would not. If the object of Great Britain, in offending you, should be to provoke a war, she would disregard five or six millions of dollars; should it not be war, an act of sequestration or confiscation would certainly produce a war. Thus, in both cases, you would have war, and with this disadvantage, that you would give your enemy a fair pretext; from being the injured party, you would become the aggressors, unite every heart and hand against you in Great Britain, and excite the mistrust and contempt of other nations.

To say that you have no other means of defending "the rights and property of your citizens," is beyond expression degrading; but the town-meeting are not singular in this opinion. A writer in the *Aurora* of Philadelphia, observes, that "confiscation may be regarded as the American weapon of defence, and that to abandon it, is an outrage on humanity, policy, justice, and natural right." What! a nation of sovereigns no weapon of defence but that of a swindler! Tell us no more, then, that you are a great people; give up all pretension to a place among the nations
of

of the earth, for none of them have ever avowed so vile and pusillanimous a principle. "Justice is outraged," because you have stipulated not to make the innocent suffer for the misdeeds of the guilty! Because you have engaged not to ruin a few honest individuals for injuries received from a nation, you have outraged humanity! Ah! you preachers of humanity! I never liked you, and now I hate you from my soul.

"The capture" (say the town-meeting in another of their resolutions,) "the capture of the vessels and property was a national concern." Here, then, there is a good reason for deprecating Mr. Dayton's motion, in place of approving of it. But, Franklin has something so very striking on this subject, that it must not be passed over in silence. In one place, he blames the President for preventing the adoption of Mr. Dayton's resolution, which he calls a dignified measure; and in another place, speaking of the indemnity obtained by the treaty, he says, "the aggression was an offence against the nation, and therefore no private compensation ought to be deemed competent. As the depredations on our commerce, and the indignities offered to our flag, were a national outrage, nothing short of national satisfaction ought to be admitted. The piracies of Great Britain were committed under the authority of the government, the government therefore ought to be answerable for them." And yet, the same man that has made this plain, unequivocal declaration, has also declared, that it was a dignified measure, to seize the property of innocent individuals lodged in the banks, and the funds of this country, or in the hands of their friends! He has declared it to be a dignified measure, to rifle the bureau of the merchant, pry into the secrets of the friend, sanction the proceedings

of the villain, and forbid the honest man to pay his debts.

One thing, above all, ought to be considered on this subject : that an act of sequestration or confiscation must ever fail in its operation, or establish the most consummate tyranny. Do these humane citizens think, that I, for example, would give up what had been entrusted to me by a friend, or what I owed to a correspondent? No; I should look upon the oaths they might impose on me, as taken with a dagger at my breast. In short, their plundering law, could never be put in execution, except under the government of a French Convention.

Art. XI. Is only an introduction to the following ones.

Art. XII. Is to be the subject of a future negotiation, and therefore, is not a part of the treaty as approved of by the Senate.

Art. XIII. Consents, that the citizens of the United States may carry on a free trade to and from the British territories in India, but they must carry the merchandize shipped in the said territories, to some part of the United States, and that the citizens of the United States cannot settle in the said territories, or go into the interior of the country without express permission from the government there.

To this the town-meeting object ; “ because the
 “ commerce we have hitherto enjoyed in India, in
 “ common with other nations, is so restricted by
 “ this article, that, in future, it will be of little or
 “ no benefit to our citizens.” This objection
 seems to have been founded on a mistake (perhaps
 a wilful one), which has been propagated with a
 good deal of industry : “ that this article prevents
 “ you from re-exporting the merchandize brought
 “ from the British territories in India.” It was
 excusable

excusable in the citizens to follow up this error, because they either did not, or could not, read the treaty; but I hope, they will now take my word, and assure themselves, that if ever any of them should acquire property enough to be concerned in mercantile affairs, and should receive a cargo from India, they may ship it off again as soon as they please.

Art. XIV. and XV. Stipulate for a free intercourse between the British dominions in Europe, and the United States. The advantages are perfectly reciprocal, as far as they can be rendered so by treaty. The two parties agree that no higher duties shall be paid by the ships or merchandize of the one party in the ports of the other, than such as are paid by the like vessels and merchandize of all other nations. This is the principal object of these articles; but there are some particular stipulations respecting the equalization of duties, &c. in which Great Britain appears to have reserved to itself a trifling advantage.

To these articles the town-meeting have some particular objections; but as these are founded upon an opinion, expressed afterwards in a general objection, it will be sufficient to answer the general objection only. "Because the nature and extent of the exports of the United States, are such, that in all their stipulations with foreign nations they have it in their power to secure a perfect reciprocity of intercourse, not only with the home dominions of such nations, but with all their colonial possessions."

It is first necessary to observe, that, what these citizens mean by reciprocity, goes a little beyond the common acceptation of that term. They do not mean, an advantage for an advantage, they mean all the advantage on their side, and none on the other; they mean, that all the ports of all the

nations with whom they trade, ought to be as free for them as for the subjects of those nations ; they mean, that other nations should maintain fleets and armies to keep up colonial possessions, and that they should reap the profit of them ; in short, they mean, that all the poor subjects in the world are made for the citizens of the United States to domineer over. Nor is it much to be wondered at that they should entertain these lofty pretensions, if we consider how they have been becitizenized and besovereigned up within these few years. One half of them believe, that it is in their power to starve the whole world, when they please to make the government put on an embargo ; they were fretted to death that the President would not let them go to take Canada, Nova Scotia and the West Indies ; nor would they have been pacified, if they had not been assured, that they should have them all in a hundred years time.

This is all very well for these citizen-sovereigns, and sovereign-citizens ; but for you, who, I hope, have no pretension to this kind of civic royalty, it becomes you to talk and think like reasonable creatures.

Before I go any further, I must notice what Franklin says on the subject. “ The articles of
“ commerce in the United States are generally the
“ necessities of life ; few of its luxuries are born, or
“ cultivated among us ; does it appear then, that
“ a commercial treaty is necessary to afford an out-
“ let to things of the first requisition ? It is a fact
“ well ascertained, that the West India Islands are
“ in a state of dependance, among us, and by
“ means of this dependance we are enabled to
“ make such regulations with respect to our com-
“ merce with Great Britain wholly superfluous. It
“ is equally ascertained, that in our commerce
“ with Great Britain herself, the balance of trade
“ is

“ is considerably in her favour, and from this circum-
 “ stance likewise she would be induced to recipro-
 “ cate interests, without a commercial treaty, were
 “ those means pursued which are in our power.”
 Now to know the real value of the term reciprocity, take the following sentences. “ If we
 “ cede an advantage for an advantage ceded to us,
 “ whence the boast of a treaty ? She (Great Bri-
 “ tain) can grant us no commercial privileges that
 “ our situation does not enable us to exact ; why
 “ then wave the most important demands, to ob-
 “ tain a grant of commercial advantages, which we
 “ could compel ?” This is the language of all the patriots of the present day.

If what the patriots say be true, then, you have it in your power to exact from Great Britain what conditions you please ; 1st. because your articles of exportation are, in great part, necessaries of life ; 2d. because the British West Indies are in a state of dependance on you ; 3d. because the balance of trade with Great Britain is greatly in her favour.

1. Because your articles of exportation are, in great part, necessaries of life. This idea is originally of the populace, who look upon every barrel of provision shipped off to the West Indies, or else where, as so much loss to themselves, and as a kind of alms to keep the poor foreign devils from starving : and, in return for this generosity on their part, they imagine they have the power to compel the beggars to do just what they please. From the populace it found its way into Congress, under the auspices of a member of that body who made it the ground work of his famous resolutions, intended to force Great Britain to yield you commercial advantages. No wonder, then, that it should now be taken up by Franklin, and all the opposers of the treaty. They cannot conceive how a nation, to

whom you throw a morsel of bread when you please, should dare refuse you any thing.

That your exports being, in great part, necessities of life (that is, eatables) ought to give you a preference in commercial relations, is an error, and not the less so for being a popular one. Commodities being eatables may give the seller a preference in a town during the time of a siege, but not in the great world of commerce. It is as necessary for you to sell your produce as for a toy-man to sell his toys. If they rot in your stores, their being necessities of life will not diminish the loss. If the land is obliged to lie fallow, the mill stand still, and the vessels rot at the wharfs, little satisfaction will it be to the farmer, the miller and the merchant, that they all used to be employed in cultivating and distributing the necessities of life. When a man is reduced to beggary for want of a vent of his goods, it signifies not a farthing to him, whether these goods were necessities of life, or luxuries. No; it is the pecuniary gains, arising from trading with a nation, which ought to give, or which can give, that nation a right, or a power, to exact commercial advantages; and not the nature of the merchandize she has to export.

2. Because the British West Indies are in a state of dependance upon you. For my part, I cannot conceive how they make out this state of dependance. The exportation of your articles being as necessary to you, as the importation of them is to the islands, you depend upon them as much as they depend upon you. You receive sugar, molasses, coffee and rum, from the islands; these too, are necessities of life; and such as you could not possibly do without. I cannot pretend to say what proportion your imports from the islands bear to your exports to them; but there must be a balance
of

of trade either for or against you. If you receive more of the necessaries of life from the islands, than you carry to them, and they cannot be in a state of dependance, on that account: if the balance be in your favour, then the trade is an advantageous one for you, and, if it makes a dependance on either side, it makes you dependant on the islands. Observe here, that the patriots suppose you have the power of compelling Great Britain to do what you please, because, in her trade with you, the balance is greatly in her favour, and because in your trade with the West Indies, the balance is in your favour. Thus the West India Islands are in a state of dependance on you, because you gain by them; and Great Britain is in the same state, because she gains by you! No wonder the citizens of the United States should think themselves sovereigns.

3. Because the balance of trade with Great Britain is greatly in her favour. This balance of trade, assert the patriots, is to give you what terms you please to exact, "if you pursue the means that are in your power." These means are prohibiting the importation of British merchandizes; and this, they assert, would do her much more harm than it would you. A better reason of action than this might, perhaps, be found; but as it seems to be a favourite one with them, and, indeed, the only one by which they are actuated, I shall take them up upon it, and endeavour to convince you, that they are mistaken.

I will suppose, with the patriots, that the manufactures you receive from Great Britain are not necessary to you. I will suppose that you have the capitals and raw materials for establishing manufactories of your own; I will suppose one third of your peasants (I beg pardon, I mean yeomen) and sailors changed by a presto into weavers, combers, fullers, whitesmiths, &c. &c.; I will suppose the

manufactories going on, and all of you inspired with patriotism enough to be happy, dressed in the work of their hands; I will suppose, in short, that you no longer stand in need of British manufactures. This is allowing my adversaries every thing they can ask, and all I ask of them in return, is to allow me, that Great Britain stands in no need of your manufactures. If they do not refuse me this, as, I think, they cannot, I have not the least doubt but I shall prove, that cutting off all communication between the countries, would injure you more than Great Britain.

The imports being prohibited on each side, and both being able to do without them, the injury must arise from the stoppage being put to the exports; and as Great Britain sells you much more than you sell her, the patriots maintain, that this stoppage would do her more harm than it would you. This was the shield and buckler of Mr. Madison. He compared the United States to a country gentleman, and Great Britain to a pedlar; and declared, that you might do without her, but that she could not do without you.

How illusive this is we shall see in a minute. It is a maxim of commerce, that the exports of a nation are the source of her riches, and that, in proportion as you take from that source, she is injured and enfeebled; hence it follows, that cutting off the communication between Great Britain and you, would injure her more than you, in proportion to the balance now in her favour; that is to say, if the total of her exports and the total of your exports were to the same amount. But this is far from being the case; your exports amount to no more than twenty millions of dollars, or thereabouts, nine millions of which go to Great Britain and her dominions, while the exports of Great Britain amount to one hundred millions of dollars, no more than
fifteen

fifteen millions of which come to the United States. Suppose then, all communication cut off at once; you would lose nine-twentieths of your exports, while Great Britain would lose only fifteen-hundredths of hers: so that, if there be any truth in arithmetic, you would injure yourselves three times as much as you would her.

These considerations will, of course, have no weight with the honest stipendiaries of France; but with those whose only desire, is to injure Great Britain more than the United States, they ought to have some weight.

If what I have advanced on the subject be correct, "the nature and extent of your exports" do not give you a power "to demand, to exact, to compel," what conditions you please in your commercial relations with Great Britain; and it follows, of course, that Franklin and the citizens of the Boston town-meeting are mistaken.

Art. XVI. Relates to consuls.

This article has not been meddled with, as yet.

Art. XVII. Permits, or rather expressly stipulates, for what is allowed by the law of nations, the seizing of an enemy's property on board the vessels of either party.

Art. XVIII. Specifies what are contraband articles, and settles an honourable and equitable system of seizure.

As these two articles have been objected to by nobody but the agents of France, as they seem to affect the French more than any body else, and as that august diet, the Convention, may be at this time debating on the subject, it would be presumption in the extreme for me to hazard an opinion on it.

Art. XIX. Provides for the protection of the vessels and property of the subjects and citizens of the contracting parties.

I have

I have heard nothing urged against this article.

Art. XX. Stipulates that the two contracting parties will not only refuse to receive pirates into their ports, &c. but that they will do the utmost in their power to bring them to punishment.

Without objection; for any thing I have heard.

Art. XXI. Stipulates, that the subjects and citizens of each of the contracting parties shall not commit violence on those of the other party, nor serve in the fleets or armies, or accept of commissions from its enemies.

Some of the friends of neutrality object to this, as it prevents them from assisting the French, and from making war upon Great Britain for the future, under the cloak of neutrality.

Art. XXII. Stipulates, that no act of reprisal shall take place between the parties, unless justice has first been demanded, and refused, or unreasonably delayed.

This is opposed by the friends of sequestration and confiscation, as it would give people time to shelter their property from the claws of the patriots.

Art. XXIII, XXIV, and XXV. Provide certain regulations concerning ships of war, privateers, and prizes taken from the enemies of the contracting parties.

Much was said about these articles, till it was proved that they were copied from the treaty of commerce made between France and England since the American war; since your treaty with France. This was a circumstance that the patriots, who are none of the best read in such things, were not aware of.

Art. XXVI. Provides for the security and tranquillity of the subjects and citizens of the two parties, living in the territory of each other at the breaking out of a war.

This article has escaped censure.

Art. XXV^e. Stipulates for the giving up of murderers and forgers.

This article has been the innocent cause of much alarm. The patriots, lately imported from Great Britain and Ireland, and several members of the democratic societies in this country, were afraid that it was to have a retro-spective effect. Upon receiving an assurance to the contrary, their fears are in some measure allayed; but they nevertheless oppose the transaction on this account, with all their might. A score dissenters, and I am mistaken if he be not the same well-known writer (the President) who has, in one of your papers, a few days ago, affirmed that this article was "a cruel stab to the sovereignty of the people, and militates against the authority of the law."

From the nature of the persons who have hitherto described the treaty, and from the futility of the reasons they have given for their opposition, there is no reason to imagine, that great part of them observe (at the bottom of their hearts) to this article (if it be the case, it is pity the article was not). If the Forgers and murderers, if left to their introduction, a time after their flight, would not fall themselves for the fate, which the article was made to entail to meet them, and it is little matter in what course to them.

Art. XXVIII. Relates to the duration of the foregoing ones, and to the ratification of the treaty.

This article, which ends the treaty, is of such a nature as to admit of no objection.

Now, you will observe, that it is not my intention to render this treaty palatable to you ; I shall not insist, therefore, that the terms of it are as advantageous as you might wish, or expect them to be ; but I insist that they are as advantageous as you ought to have expected. Great Britain grants you
favours,

favours, she has never granted to any other nation ; and that no other nation, not even our sister republic, has granted you. Nor can it be said, that, in return, you grant her favours, which you have not granted to other nations ; several favours, granted to France, you have still withheld from Great Britain, even if the present treaty goes into effect. Great Britain does not, therefore, receive favours, as it has been absurdly asserted, but she grants them.

Had the terms of the treaty been decidedly advantageous to the United States and so destroy every principle of reciprocity, it might perhaps, have escaped much of the censure that has been passed on it ; but would any man of discernment have been pleased with such a treaty ? Would he have seen in it the foundation of a lasting peace ? No, he would have suspected that it had been made in haste, in a moment of embarrassment, merely to please you, till a change of circumstances would enable the Great Britain to assume another tone, and would encourage every thing ; and, whatever your demands, they say to the contrary, such a change was not far off.

I cannot dismiss this part of my subject, without observing, that Charles Fox made, in the British Parliament, exactly the same objections to the treaty, as the patriots in this country have made. It was humiliating to Great Britain, he said. 'Unfortunate, indeed, must be the negotiators, who have made a treaty humiliating to both the contracting parties ! Mr. Fox's censure is the best comment in the world on that of the American patriots, and theirs on his.

I now come to the third object of the censure of Franklin : the conduct of the President relative to the treaty.

III. That supposing the terms of the treaty to be what every good American ought to approve, yet the

the conduct of the President, relative to the negotiation and promulgation of it, has been highly improper and even monarchical; and for which he deserves to be impeached.

Franklin has not obliged the world with articles of impeachment regularly drawn up; but, as far as can be gathered from his letters, he would have the chief magistrate of the union impeached; 1st. for having appointed Mr. Jay as Envoy Extraordinary; 2d. for having appointed an Envoy Extraordinary, on this occasion, contrary to the opinion of the House of Representatives and of the democratic society; 3d. for his reserve towards the Senate, previous to Mr. Jay's departure; 4th. for his reserve towards the people; and 5th. for having evaded a new treaty with France, while he courted one with Great Britain.

The first of these, the appointing of Mr. Jay as Envoy extraordinary, is declared to be unconstitutional. "The man of the people," says Franklin, "it was believed, would not have consented to, much less have originated a mission, hostile to the constitution, unfriendly to the functions of the legislature, and insulting to a great people, struggling against tyrants. The appointment of the Chief Justice of the United States as Envoy Extraordinary, to the court of Great Britain, put to defiance the compact under which we have associated, and made the will of the Executive paramount to the general will of the people. The principle laid down by this appointment, strikes at the root of our civil security; nay, it aims a deadly blow at liberty itself." The word unconstitutional is, with the opposers of the government, a word of vast import: it means any thing they please to have it mean. In their acceptance of the word, therefore, I cannot pretend to say that the conduct of the President, in appointing Mr. Jay, was not un-

constitutional ; but if unconstitutional be allowed to mean, something contrary to the constitution, I think it would be very difficult to prove, that the appointment was unconstitutional ; for, certain it is, there is no article in the Constitution, that forbids, either literally or by implication, the employing of a Chief Justice of the United States on an extraordinary embassy. “ The constitution,” says Franklin, “ has provided, that the different departments of “ government should be kept distinct, and, consequently, to unite them is a violation of it, and “ an encroachment on the liberties of the people, “ guaranteed by that instrument.—The appointments of John Jay, Chief Justice of the United “ States, as Envoy Extraordinary to the court of “ Great Britain, is contrary to the spirit and meaning of the constitution ; as it unites in the same “ person judicial and legislative functions.” If, as it is here asserted, the President had united the judicial with the legislative functions, it must be confessed, that he would have departed from the spirit and meaning of the constitution ; but, has the mere negotiation of a treaty any thing to do with the legislative functions ? It appears to me not. Treaties are the supreme law of the land, and, therefore, the sanctioning of them, the making of them laws, is a legislative act ; but the mere drawing of them up, the preparing of them for the discussion of the legislature, is no legislative act at all.

If negotiating be a legislative act, it naturally follows, that nobody but the legislature, or some member or members of it, could be employed in a negotiation ; and the constitution expressly provides, that “ no member of Congress shall, during the “ time for which he was elected, be appointed to “ any civil office, under the authority of the “ United States, which shall have been created during such time.” Thus then, if the spirit of the
con-

constitution makes negotiating a legislative act, and consequently requires a legislator to negotiate a treaty, and the letter positively forbids it, the whole clause respecting treaties is superfluous, for there ought never to be any such thing as treaties.

When the secretary of either department brings forward a plan for the consideration of Congress, does he act in a legislative capacity? And what more is an unratified treaty? In short, if a negotiator acts in a legislative capacity, so does every petitioner; nay, every clerk and printer, employed by Congress.

The Chief Justice is further objected to as an Envoy Extraordinary, on this occasion, because, "treaties being the supreme law of the land, it becomes the duty of the judiciary to expound and apply them, and therefore, to permit an officer in that department to share in their formation, is to unite distinct functions, tends to level the barriers of our freedom, and to establish precedents pregnant with danger." If the mere formation of laws by gentlemen of the bar tends to level the barriers of your freedom, I am afraid the barriers of your freedom are already levelled; for I believe there are very few laws that do not pass through their hands, or concerning which their advice is not asked, before they are sanctioned. Franklin (perhaps through ignorance) confounds the formation with the making of a law; how essentially they differ I leave you to determine.

To object to the Chief Justice as negotiator, because it would become his duty to expound and apply the treaty he was to negotiate, is what I should expect from nobody but Franklin, or some one of his faction. Was ever a man, before, supposed to be less capable of expounding and applying a law because he had assisted in framing it? Or was he,

on that account, ever supposed to be less desirous of seeing it duly and faithfully executed? Pursue this monstrous maxim, and see where it will end. If it be unsafe to trust the expounding and applying of a law to him who has assisted in framing it, must it not be much more unsafe to trust the expounding and application of it to those who have assisted in making it? And, is it not, then, unsafe to admit gentlemen of the law into Congress, without incapacitating them from pleading at the bar, or, at least, from becoming judges for ever after? Suppose, for instance, that one of the present senators were to be appointed Chief Justice in the room of Mr. Jay, would he not have to expound and apply the treaty which he has just assisted in making? And should some of the gentlemen of the other House be, at a future period, appointed judges of the supreme court, would they not have to apply the laws, which, as legislators, they have assisted in making? Should a commander in chief propose to Congress a plan for the regulation of the troops, and should it become a law, would it be said, that the general had united the legislative with the military functions, and that he ought to be dismissed from the service, as unfit to expound and apply the law which he had proposed. The principle of Franklin, if adopted, would render it absolutely impossible for the Congress to avail themselves of the talents or integrity of any one out of their own body.

But, at any rate, had this objection been well founded; had there been cause to fear the consequences of leaving the treaty to be expounded and applied by him who had assisted in framing it, the danger is now over: Mr. Jay is no more Chief Justice; the freemen of the State of New York knew how to estimate his merit rather better than Franklin. Fortune seems to have lent a hand in depriving

depriving the enemies of the government of all grounds of complaint, and yet they make a shift to keep the union in an uproar.

Another objection to sending the Chief Justice on this mission, is, that a President might thereby escape from the hands of justice, or, at least, elude a trial. "From the nature," says Franklin; "and terms of an impeachment against a President of the United States, it is not only necessary that the Chief Justice of the United States should preside in the Senate, but that he should be above the bias which the honour and emolument in the gift of the Executive might create." 'Tis true, the Constitution says, that, "When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside." But, waving the insolence and most patriotic ingratitude of this insinuation; admitting your President to be what Franklin would make you believe he is, and that the necessity of impeaching him was a thing to be expected, I cannot perceive any great inconvenience that could arise from the absence of the Chief Justice. The President could not be impeached before the opening of Congress, and, by that time, it was reasonable to suppose, that the object of the extraordinary mission would be accomplished, and the Envoy ready to return. An impeachment against the President could hardly be hurried on in such a manner as not to leave an interval of four months between his accusation and trial, a space quite sufficient for recalling the Chief Justice. And as to the bias, that the honour and emolument attached to the office of Envoy might create in favour of the culprit President, that could not be very powerful; because the office of Envoy must cease, before the Chief Justice could enter on his functions as judge on the President; and Franklin ought to know by his own heart, that gratitude for past services,

VOL. II. Z would

would have but very little weight in favour of the offender.

There is one objection remaining, which, if well founded, is really of a serious nature. Franklin positively asserts, that the appointment of the Envoy Extraordinary was strongly protested against by a very respectable minority of the Senate; and not by them alone, but by the democratic society of Pennsylvania also! That this respectable minority should coincide in sentiment with the Pennsylvania democratic society is, indeed, a circumstance that deserves to be well attended to; and, no doubt, it has had, and will yet have, due weight with the President.

How it came into the head of Franklin to introduce his club on this occasion, it is not easy to imagine. He does not pretend, I hope, that there is something unconstitutional here also? The Constitution says, that the President shall take the advice of the Senate, but it is totally silent with respect to the democratic society of Pennsylvania. Mightily "alarming," indeed, that the President should not consult this club of butchers, tinkers, broken hucksters, and transatlantic traitors! Had he wanted a fellow to fell an ox or mend a kettle, to bilk his creditors or blow up an insurrection, he would have done well to address himself to the democratic society of Pennsylvania for advice; but to ask their advice in the appointment of an Envoy Extraordinary would have been as preposterous as consulting the devil in the choice of a minister of the Gospel.

I have now answered, and I hope to your satisfaction, what Franklin calls his constitutional objections to the appointment of Mr. Jay as Envoy Extraordinary: it remains for me to take notice of one of a more personal nature.

Franklin, conscious that Mr. Jay's character for wisdom and integrity was unimpeachable, has con-
jured

jured up against him an opinion, which he gave some time ago, concerning the Western Posts. He says : " After the declaration made by John Jay " that Great Britain was justifiable in her detention " of the Western Posts, it was a sacrifice of the interest and peace of the United States to commit " a negotiation to him, in which the evacuation of " those posts ought to form an essential part." This unqualified declaration, " that Great Britain " was justifiable in her detention of the Western " Posts," is a most shameful representation of Mr. Jay's opinion on the subject. By this declaration Franklin insinuates, that Mr. Jay had given it as his opinion that Great Britain would be justifiable in her detention of the Western Posts for ever ; whereas his opinion was, that she was justifiable in detaining those Posts, only 'till the stipulation of the treaty of peace with respect to debts, due to British subjects from some of the States, should be fulfilled. And was there a candid, honest man in the United States who differed in opinion from Mr. Jay, on this subject ? Very few I believe, except it were through ignorance. I am fully convinced that there is not, at this time, a single well informed man in this country, who is not satisfied, that Great Britain was justifiable in her detention of the Posts ; to object then, to Mr. Jay as an Envoy Extraordinary, because he had given his opinion to that effect, was to object to him for having spoken the truth, like an independent, honest man : indeed, the patriots seem to look on honesty as a natural disqualification, and, therefore, their objection to Mr. Jay is not so unaccountable as it otherwise would be.

Must not those people, who so boldly assured you, that John Jay would betray your interests, that he would sell the Western Posts, &c. have blushed when they saw that a surrender of these

Posts was the first thing he had stipulated for ? No ; a patriot's skin is like the shield of a Grecian hero ; blood cannot penetrate through " ten bull hides."

The following anecdote will at once prove the injustice of charging Mr. Jay with a wish to abandon the Western Posts to the British, and confirm the prudence of the President's choice.

" From here," says Brissot, " we went to New Rochelle. This place will always be celebrated for having given birth to one of the most distinguished men of the American revolution ; a republican remarkable for his firmness and his coolness, a writer eminent for his nervous style, and his close logic, Mr. Jay."

" At the time of laying the foundation of the Peace of 1783, M. de Vergennes, actuated by secret motives, wished to engage the ambassadors of Congress to confine their demands to the fisheries, and to renounce the Western Territory. The minister required particularly, that the independence of America should not be considered as the basis of the peace, but, simply, that it should be conditional. To succeed in this project, it was necessary to gain over Jay and Adams. Mr. Jay declared to M. de Vergennes, that he would sooner lose his life than sign such a treaty ; that the Americans fought for independence : that they would never lay down their arms 'till it should be fully consecrated ; that the court of France had recognized it, and that there would be a contradiction in her conduct, if she deviated from that point. It was not difficult for Mr. Jay to bring M. Adams to his determination ; and M. de Vergennes could never shake his firmness."

" Mr. Jay was equally immoveable by all the efforts of the English minister, whom M. de Vergennes

“ Vergennes had gained to his party. Mr. Jay
 “ proved to him, that it was the interest of the
 “ English themselves, that the Americans should
 “ be independent, and not in a situation which
 “ would render them dependant on their ally. He
 “ converted him to his sentiment ; for his reason-
 “ ing determined the court of St. James’s. When
 “ Mr. Jay passed through England in his return
 “ to America, Lord Shelburne desired to see him.
 “ Accused by the nation of having granted too
 “ much to the Americans, he desired to know, in
 “ case he had persisted not to accord to the Ameri-
 “ cans the Western Territory, if they would have
 “ continued the war. Mr. Jay answered, that he
 “ believed they would, and that he should have
 “ advised it.”

This is the man whom the patriots accuse of in-
 tentions of rendering the United States dependant
 on Great Britain, and of abandoning the Western
 Posts ! This is the man, who, after twenty years
 spent in the service of his country, after having a
 second time ensured its happiness and prosperity, is
 called “ a slave, a coward, a traitor,” and is burnt
 in effigy for having “ bartered its liberty for
 “ British gold !” The ingratitude of republics and
 republicans has long been proverbial.

2. Franklin would have the President impeached,
 for having appointed an Envoy Extraordinary to
 Great Britain contrary to the opinion of the major-
 ity of the House of Representatives. “ A majority
 “ of that House,” says Franklin, “ were in favour
 “ of dignified and energetic measures ; they spurn-
 “ ed the idea of a patient and ignominious submis-
 “ sion to robbery and outrage. The different pro-
 “ positions of Messrs. Madison, Clarke, and Day-
 “ ton substantiate this assertion.—And yet the
 “ Executive nominated an Envoy Extraordinary

“ in coincidence with the minority, apparently to
“ defeat the intentions of the representatives of the
“ people. This fact is serious and alarming.”
That the President did nominate, and, by and with
the advice of the Senate, appoint, the Envoy Extraordinary, contrary to the opinion of the majority of the House of Representatives, is, at least, doubtful, because no such question could be agitated in that House; but that he would have been justifiable in so doing is not doubtful at all. Your Constitution, which this demagogue affects to call the palladium of your liberty, says, that the President, with the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, &c. and not a word about the House of Representatives.

Without directly denying the authority of the President and Senate in the appointment of an Envoy Extraordinary, Franklin asserts that the exercise of that authority was in the present instance, interfering with the dignified and energetic measures that were pending in the House of Representatives. If the Constitution had made an exception here, if it had provided that the President and Senate should not appoint an Envoy, but that their functions should be suspended, while dignified and energetic measures, were pending in the other House, I should be ready to confess, that the former had stepped beyond their authority; but as the Constitution is silent on this subject, I cannot. It was possible, indeed, for the House of Representatives to fall into an indelicate interference with the Executive, on this occasion, and, perhaps, they did so; but the Executive could not interfere with them, unless they had first begun to meddle with a branch of authority, which the Constitution had forbidden them to touch. What would be said of the President and Senate, were they to frame a money bill, pass it, and send it to the other House?

Just

Just as consonant to the Constitution is it for that House to interfere in the nomination, or appointment, of an Envoy to a foreign court.

Besides, as to the fact, how did the appointment of the Envoy interfere with the dignified and energetic measures? They were adopted by the House of Representatives, and presented to the Senate, who rejected them, and who would have rejected them, whether the Envoy had been previously appointed or not. This is evident, because had they intended to sanction the dignified and energetic measures, they would not have appointed the Envoy; and therefore, by delaying the appointment, 'till these measures were rejected by the Senate, nothing could have been gained but a loss of time.

Franklin seems to triumph in proving, that the President acted contrary to the opinion of the House of Representatives. I have already observed that that House had nothing to do in the appointment in question; but, even suppose they had, is the Senate nothing? What is the use of three branches in the Constitution, if two of them must ever yield to the will of a third, or the whim of a faction? To what end has a power been given to the Senate to reject bills sent to them by the other House, if they are never to exercise it, unless it should happen to be agreeable to the democratic clubs? In short, why is there a senate and President at all? And, indeed, it seems to be the opinion of your countryman Franklin, that these two branches, at least, are useless. "If," says he, "the immediate representatives of the people were to decide upon treaties, the secrecy in relation to them would be more tolerable." After this sentence, it is perfectly ridiculous to hear him censure the administration for acting unconstitutionally; full as much so, as it is to hear my old friend Priestley rebuking Tom Paine.

If the immediate representatives of the people, as Franklin is pleased to call them, were permitted to decide upon treaties, there is no one act of authority that they would not soon exercise exclusively. Very soon would the whole power of the state be consecrated into one heterogeneous assembly split up into committees of confiscation, war, and murder. Very soon would your legislature resemble that of your sister Republic, where every crude idea that comes athwart the brain of a harlequin legislator, becomes a law in the space of five minutes, and issues forth amidst the acclamations of the sovereign people, bearing terror and devastation through the land. You may thank God that your Constitution has provided against a legislative scourge like this. It is this prudent provision alone that has saved you from the dreadful consequences, which the dignified and energetic measures of the triumvirate, Madison, Clarke, and Dayton, would most inevitably have produced.

After having censured the President for not acting in coincidence with the sentiment of the majority of the House of Representatives, Franklin returns to the charge by censuring him for acting in coincidence with the sentiment of the minority of the same House; this he calls, "a serious and an alarming fact," just as if it was not an unavoidable consequence of the other. But, it is not a little extraordinary to hear him censure the President for acting in coincidence with the minority of the House of Representatives, when, a few pages before, he censures him for not acting in coincidence with the sentiment of the respectable minority of the Senate? Perhaps the epithet respectable, which Franklin has bestowed on his minority of the Senate (and of which, I suppose, the respectable Mr. Mason was one), renders them superior to the majority,

majority, and if so, their opinion certainly ought to have been followed. But, the truth is, I believe, this respectively minority of the Senate were in favour of those dignified and energetic, or dragooning, plundering, measures, which the President did not approve of, and so were the majority of the House of Representatives; and this is the reason why Franklin, who is a sort of war trumpet, would have had him guided by the minority of one House and the majority of the other.

The President's having acting in coincidence with the minority of the House of Representatives ought to be looked upon as a mere matter of accident; for, on the appointment of an Envoy, it was not necessary for him to take cognizance of what was passing amongst them; but as to his acting in coincidence with the majority of the Senate, it was a duty that the Constitution imposed on him. According to the wish of Franklin, the President should have rejected the advice of that branch of the legislature which the Constitution has associated with him in the appointment of an Envoy, to adhere to the advice of another branch, to which the Constitution has allotted no participation in such appointments. This is what the patriots would have called acting constitutionally.

Not content with accusing the President of acting unconstitutionally in nominating an Envoy to Great Britain, Franklin adds, that he did it "apparently to defeat the intentions of the representatives of the people." There is a good deal of bitterness in this. If, by the representatives of the people, Franklin means the majority of the House of Representatives alone, I assent to the truth of his remark: nay, I will go further, and own, that I am fully persuaded, the President

President did appoint the Envoy Extraordinary on purpose to defeat their intentions. But, were I an American, very far should I be from imputing this to him as a crime ; for had he not defeated their intentions, you would by this time have been objects of pity rather than of envy.

There was no person of the least discernment who was not well assured that the object of your patriotic members of Congress, was to reduce you to the necessity of making a common cause with the French. I know they pretended, that they wished to preserve peace. With this desirable object in view one proposed laying such duties on British merchandise and ships, as would go nearly to a prohibition ; another proposed an entire prohibition ; and a third, in order to preserve peace with Great Britain, proposed seizing all debts and funds, the property of British subjects ! These were something like the peace measures adopted in 1776, and had there been a second independence to gain, no good whig could have objected to their being revived ; but this gaining of independence is a game of hazard that no nation ever ought to play but once. At the present time, it would be an exceedingly silly game for you ; you have every thing to lose and nothing to win.

I am totally at a loss to account for these gentlemen's motives in endeavouring to plunge this country into a war with Great Britain. I will not affect to believe, that they were under the influence of foreign gold, though I believe them to be as corruptible, at least, as Mr. Jay. Interested considerations could have no weight with them ; for, they appear to have lost all idea of private as well as public interest. But whatever might be their motives, the measures they proposed were fraught with beggary, ruin, and dishonour, and if the President,

dent, by his nomination of the Envoy to Great Britain, contributed to their being rejected, though supported by the majority of the House of Representatives, he is entitled to the blessing of every lover of this country.

3. Franklin would have the President impeached, for his reserve towards the Senate previous to Mr. Jay's departure. Franklin says, "the advice of the Senate was not taken in the treaty with Great Britain." By this, he ought to mean, that the Senate was not informed of the particular objects to be obtained by Mr. Jay's mission; for, if he means (which is possible) that their advice was not taken on the subject of the mission itself, and of the person to be employed on it, he wishes to impose on the unwary what he knows to be untrue. On these subjects their advice was taken, and any further it was not necessary, either in a constitutional or prudential point of view.

"By the Constitution," says Franklin, "all treaties are to be made by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The term advice has a natural and obvious reference to the negotiation; that no negotiation shall be entered into but with the advice of the Senate." Before I take the liberty of contradicting our demagogues here, give me leave to make him contradict himself. "The President," says he, in another place, "has power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to conclude treaties;—that is, the Senate has the power to accept or reject any treaty negotiated by the President; but this power has not gone to prevent him from opening a negotiation with any nation he thought proper." This patriot was determined no one should triumph in confuting it. A disputant that thus contradicts himself point blank without any kind of ceremony or apology, sets his adversary at defiance.

Reversing

Reserving myself till by and by to account for these contradictory expositions of the same text, I am ready to allow, that the latter of them exactly meets my sentiments ; that is, that the share of power, in making treaties, allotted to the Senate, does not go to prevent the President from opening a negotiation with any nation he may think proper. This is so clearly pointed out by the Constitution, that one is astonished to hear it controverted by persons capable of reading. "He shall," says that instrument, "have power, by and with the "advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present "concur : and, he shall nominate, and by and with "the advice of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors," &c. And yet Franklin, in one place, insists that the term advice has a natural and obvious reference to the negotiation only ; "for," says he, "it would be the extremity of absurdity to say, that "advice was necessary after the thing was done." Whether he has wilfully, or through ignorance, confounded the making of a treaty with the forming a treaty, is to me a matter of uncertainty (for he possesses qualities that render either probable) but that he has confounded them is a clear case. A treaty is not made till it be ratified, and, therefore, presenting it to the Senate for their consideration, before it be ratified, is not taking their advice after the thing is done. It is taking their advice before it is done ; but not, as he seems to think ought to be the case, before it is begun. The natural and obvious sense, and, indeed, the only sense of the clause of the Constitution just quoted, is, in my opinion, that the Senate is to be consulted in making treaties, but not in opening negotiations.

Franklin has had the ingenuity to give to the words advice and consent an application, that most certainly never entered into the thoughts of those who framed

framed the Constitution. Can he be serious in confining advice to what precedes the negotiation, and consent to what follows it? If this were correct, the Senate ought never to give their consent to a negotiation, nor their advice concerning a ratification.

To me the sense of the Constitution is extremely clear, as to this point. The words advice and consent have both a reference to what follows the negotiation; and this will fully appear, if their import in the latter part of the above clause be well weighed. "The President shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint ambassadors," &c. Now, if advice in the making of treaties, has a natural and obvious reference to negotiation; so, in the appointment of ambassadors, it must have reference to nomination. I leave any one to judge how nonsensical it would have been to authorize the Senate to consent to the appointment of a person, whose nomination they had before advised; and yet it would not be more so than to give them the power of consenting to the terms of a treaty formed by their advice.

Indeed, it would be slandering the Constitution, to suppose that it contained any thing approaching so near to the anarchical, as to subject the particular objects of a negotiation to an assembly, not obliged to secrecy, before the negotiation is opened. Were this ever to be the case, it is easy to foresee that it would be impossible to conclude any treaty of moment, or, at least, to conclude it with advantage. Suppose, for instance, that the threatened rupture with Great Britain had rendered it necessary for you to form a close alliance with some power in Europe, and that the President had been obliged to make known every stipulation to be made on your part, before the departure of the Envoy; can you believe that, with such a person as Mr. Mason in the

the Senate (and, from the degeneracy of human nature, you ought to expect that there ever will be some such in it), the affair would have been kept secret, till concluded ? or even till it was begun ? No ; I'll be hanged if it would. It would have been known in London long before the Envoy's arrival in Europe, and you would have had an English fleet upon your coast, before he could possibly have fulfilled his mission.

Among thirty persons there must ever be a difference in opinion, there must ever be a majority and a minority, and a recent, a very recent, example ought to convince you, that a person of a factious disposition, who has the mortification to find his scheme disconcerted, to find himself lurching in a minority, will go above half way to hell to frustrate the intentions of the majority. It was therefore, wise in the framers of the Constitution to give the President a power to treat without previously consulting the Senate with respect to the objects to be obtained by the treaty.

4. The President ought to be impeached, according to Franklin, for his reserve towards the people.

When ignorance or factiousness, or both together, have led a man beyond the bounds of truth and candour, they never let him go, till they have plunged him into an abyss of absurdity. Thus has it happened to Franklin. After having persuaded himself that the President ought to withhold nothing from the knowledge of the other branches of the legislature, it was natural for him to pursue the error, till he found, that, " to withhold the contents of " a treaty from the people, till it was ratified, indicated a contempt for public opinion, and a " monarchical supremacy."

He says that Republics ought to have no secrets, and

and adds, in the words of Thomas Paine, “ the secrets of courts, like those of individuals, are always their defects.” I do not know whether Franklin has strengthened his position or not, in your opinion, by bringing to his aid a maxim of the old broken exciseman Paine ; in my opinion, he has weakened it by such an auxiliary. Paine, if I mistake not, was one of the half dozen of Lycurguses who framed that Constitution of your sister Republic, which is commonly called the Constitution of 1793, and which the gaunt Parisians imagine will shower down bread amongst them, like manna from heaven. When this Constitution begins to operate, there will, undoubtedly, be no such thing as secrecy in the happy country which is to be governed by it ; but it will be prudent in you to wait, till you see its effects, before you act upon its principles ; and, in the mean time, as you enjoy peace and prosperity under your present half-English Constitution, it will be right to guard it as much as possible against the attacks of the modern patriots.

“ In the compact,” says Franklin, “ entered into by the citizens of the United States, certain concessions were made by them, and these concessions are specified in the Constitution ; but, have they conceded a right to an acquaintance with their own affairs ?” Yes, if his question applies, as it evidently does to the terms of an unratified treaty, the people have conceded a right to an acquaintance with their own affairs ; for, in the right of making treaties is necessarily included the right of observing a prudent secrecy concerning them, and, as the former is expressly conceded to the President and the Senate, so is the latter. The people have conceded the right of making treaties, and the concession is unconditional ; they have made it without reserving to themselves the right of

of demanding their promulgation, before they become the law of the land; without reserving to themselves the right of advising, disputing, and caballing about their contents, before they are known, or of tormenting and reviling the Executive, and burning the negotiations in effigy, when their contents are known.

But, would not Franklin be very far from being content with the people's having this knowledge of their own affairs? Would he be willing to stop here? No. "Where the people," says he, "are
"virtually, and not nominally, the sovereign,
"the magistrates participate, but do not monopolize the supremacy." As he applies this to the treaty, it is evidently his wish to persuade you, that somebody else, besides those who now make treaties, ought to participate therein, and who this somebody is, he takes care to inform you in the next sentence. "If the people," he continues, "have the right and capacity to govern themselves,
"they are certainly entitled to a knowledge of their
"own affairs; if they are not, a republican government is wholly unfitted to them, for this
"form of government is founded upon the presumption that they possess such a capacity. The
"people being the legitimate sovereign of our government, they have the same right to a knowledge of the affairs of a state as a Monarch, and
"every restraint upon this knowledge is an abridgement of their rights." Now, without descanting upon the superabundant silliness of this passage; without insisting on the absurdity of a government's being founded upon the presumption that the people are capable of governing themselves; without inquiring what is meant by the legitimate sovereign of a government, I shall come at once to Franklin's republican Monarch. It is well known, that a Monarch ought to be at the head of all the
great

great affairs of state, and if the people in a republic ought to have the same sway, a treaty could not only never be ratified, but it never could be negotiated, without their advice being previously taken, and their consent obtained. Franklin's great fault, as a writer, is, want of memory. Must it not shock the reader to hear him give to his Sovereign people exactly the same rights as those exercised by a Monarch when, in the very same page, he affirms, that, "to naturalize the practices of "monarchies in a republic is a dereliction of every "just principle."

To establish the principle that the sovereign people ought to take an active part in the making of treaties appears to be the real object of Franklin, while he is talking about their being acquainted with their own affairs. "To connect," says he, "the "secrecy of a divan with the formation of a treaty "is to double the insecurity of committing the "trust out of the hands of the people; for a treaty "may be made to barter away our essential interests, and the people may remain ignorant of "it, till it is too late for a remedy." His meaning here is by no means equivocal. If it be insecure to commit the trust out of the hands of the people, it ought to remain in their hands: if the people have the right to apply a remedy, they must have the right of prevention also, which is much better. And, indeed, this is a self-evident conclusion; for, it would be mere nonsense to pretend, that they have a right to be informed of all the secrets of a negotiation, without having a right to break it off. If they have not a right to prevent a treaty's going into effect, where would lie the advantage of having it communicated to them previous to its ratification? What satisfaction could they derive from being tantalized with a view of dangers, that they could not avoid.

Franklin has been pleased to say something about concessions made by the people ; but, according to his subsequent account of the matter, I cannot perceive that they have made any at all. For where is the use of their having said to the President and Senate, “ you shall have the sole power of making treaties,” if they are to make them themselves ? If, notwithstanding their having conceded the power of making treaties to the President and Senate, they still retain that power, the same will hold good with respect to every other power they have conceded by the Constitution ; and then what concession have they made ? None at all ; with their capacity to govern, they still retain all their governing powers, and every nation that would treat with the United States, ought to address itself to his multifarious and many-headed Majesty, the people.

5. Franklin would advise the impeachment of the President, for having evaded a new treaty with France, while he courted one with Great Britain.

This is the great offence ; to bring this home to the President seems to have been the chief object of Franklin, who is affected by nothing that does not concern the French Republic.

Before I proceed any further, it is necessary to give you a brief history of the “ Letters of Franklin.” Whoever reads these letters with the smallest attention, must perceive, that they are, originally, a French production. Every one of them ends with an address to the passions of the sovereign people. These declamatory parts betray their origin in a more striking manner than the rest of the performance. Here we see every where a close and servile imitation of the illiterate new fangled jargon of the French Convention, a heterogeneous mixture of insolence, servility, vaunting, and lamentation. The author, or rather translator, is easily guessed

guessed at, if you pay attention to his affectionate expressions towards citizen Genet. He calls Mr. Jay the "libeller of citizen Genet;" and great part of his malice against that gentleman seems to have no other foundation. In short, I am fully persuaded, that this Franklin is the same personage who rendered himself so extremely odious in the diplomatic dispute between citizen Genet and your government.*

The quarter too, from whence these letters issued, seems to correspond with the rest of their history. They were first published in a paper famous for its antifederal principles. The printer, who is also a Colonel, † went to France in 1792, to combat, in the cause of liberty and humanity, against the satellites of the combined despots; and he returned to Philadelphia in 1793, about the time that citizen Genet arrived there. What rank this Colonel and Printer bore in the armies of your sister Republic, or whether he be still in her service, I know not; but it ought not to be wondered at, if his zeal in her cause, in "the cause of the human race," should have prompted him to serve her in Philadelphia as well as in Flanders; the Colonel might do as much execution with his printer's balls as with his cannon balls; perhaps more; and (which is a circumstance by no means to be overlooked) the former are employed with less danger than the latter.

Now, with this key, you will be able to enter into the spirit of many expressions and passages of Franklin, which, without it, must appear totally incomprehensible.

* The vile Dallas, Secretary, of the state of Pennsylvania.

† Eleazer Oswald, an infamous Whig.

“ We have,” says Franklin, “ treated the over-
“ tures of France for a treaty, with neglect. The
“ nation that has barbarously insulted us, and plun-
“ dered us, we have courted, meanly courted, and
“ the nation on whom our political existence de-
“ pends, and who has treated us with affection, we
“ have treated with indifference bordering on con-
“ tempt. Citizen Genet was empowered to pro-
“ pose a treaty with us on liberal principles, such
“ as might strengthen the bonds of good will which
“ unite the two nations.” How your government
has courted Great Britain, how your political ex-
istence depends on France, and how she has treated
you with affection, we have already seen ; it only
remains for us to see what were the “ liberal prin-
“ ciples,” which citizen Genet was authorized to
treat upon, and whether it was prudent on your part,
to refuse to treat upon those “ liberal principles,”
or not.

But, previously, it is necessary to observe, that,
let these “ liberal principles” be what they might,
the President’s conduct in refusing or evading to
treat on them could amount to no more than im-
prudence. The President, I agree, has power to
open negociations with any nation he thinks proper,
and then, says Franklin, “ Why did he not treat with
citizen Genet ?” To which I answer, that the
Constitution, in authorizing the President to open
negotiations with any nation whom he thinks pro-
per to treat with, has not obliged him to open ne-
gotiations with every nation that thinks proper to
treat with him. It has not obliged him to open
negotiations with a nation so circumstanced as not
to be depended on for the value of a cargo of flour,
with a nation in jeopardy, with an assembly who
had declared themselves a committee of insurrection
against every government on earth not founded on
their principles, with an Executive Council com-
posed

posed of half a dozen unhappy wretches, who were all either publicly executed or outlawed, before the treaty with them could have been ratified ; no ; the Constitution has obliged him to nothing of this sort, if it had, I am sure he never would have accepted the post of President. The Constitution has left it entirely to his own prudence to make or to avoid treaties ; whether he has on the present occasion, made a good use of the trust reposed in him, or not, we shall now see.

As a preliminary I must observe, that the President's proclamation of Neutrality was received by you all, with a very few exceptions, with the most unequivocal marks of approbation. If then, the treaty proposed by citizen Genet went directly to render that proclamation nugatory, or to make it a masque to cover the hostilities of such Americans as chose to make war upon the enemies of France, you will be obliged to approve of the President's conduct in avoiding to treat with citizen Genet, or expose yourself to a charge of the most palpable inconsistency.

Soon after the citizen's arrival at Philadelphia, he announced to the President, through the Secretary of State, that he was authorized to open a negotiation with the government of the United States. I have not room to give you his letter at length here. It was one of those fanfaronnades for which the French Republicans are so famous, and for which any man, supposed to be in his senses, would deserve a good kicking.—I will give it a place ; it is a diplomatic curiosity that merits to be preserved.

“ SIR,

“ Single against innumerable hordes of tyrants
“ and slaves, who menace her rising liberty, the

“ French nation would have a right to reclaim the
“ obligations imposed on the United States, by the
“ treaties she has contracted with them, and which
“ she has cemented with her blood ; but strong in
“ the greatness of her means, and of the power of her
“ principles, not less redoubtable to her enemies,
“ than the victorious arm which she opposes to
“ their rage, she comes, in the very time, when
“ the emissaries of our common enemies are mak-
“ ing useless efforts to neuterize the gratitude,
“ to damp the zeal, to weaken or cloud the view
“ of your fellow citizens ; she comes, I say, that
“ generous nation, that faithful friend, to labour
“ still to increase the prosperity and add to the
“ happiness which she is pleased to see them enjoy.”

“ The obstacles raised, with intentions hostile to
“ liberty, by the perfidious ministers of despotism ;
“ the obstacles whose object was to stop the rapid
“ progress of the commerce of the Americans, and
“ the extension of their principles, exist no more.
“ The French Republic, seeing in them brothers,
“ has opened to them, by the decrees now en-
“ closed, all her ports in the two worlds ; has
“ granted them all the favours her own citizens
“ enjoy in her vast possessions ; has invited them
“ to participate in the benefits of her navigation,
“ in granting to their vessels the same rights
“ as to her own ; and has charged me to propose
“ to your government, to establish a true family
“ compact, that is, in a national compact, the li-
“ beral and fraternal basis on which she wishes to
“ see raised the commercial and political system of
“ two people, all whose interests are confounded.”

“ I am invested, Sir, with the power necessary
“ to undertake this important negotiation, of which
“ the sad annals of humanity offered no example
“ before the brilliant æra at length opening on it.”

This

This letter admits of half a dozen interpretations. One would imagine by its outset that the French convention was graciously pleased to suffer you to remain in peace, “ notwithstanding she had “ a right to reclaim the obligations imposed on the “ United States, and which she had cemented with “ her blood ;” but, what follows seems to overturn this supposition ; for the Citizen declares that “ the “ emissaires of your common enemies were making “ useless efforts to neutralize the gratitude, and to “ damp the zeal of your fellow citizens,” &c. Citizen Genet arrived soon after the proclamation of neutrality was issued and he took the earliest opportunity of declaring, that useless efforts had been made to neutralize the gratitude of the citizens of America ; and yet Franklin and all the other stipendiaries of France assert, that “ France, with a “ magnanimity which she alone seems susceptible “ of, has not urged the fulfilment of her treaty “ with you ; but that, she has expressed her wish, “ and her conduct has proved it, that you should “ remain in peace.”

We will allow that Citizen Genet’s letter might mean, that France wished you to remain in peace (for it may be made to mean any thing), yet that letter is not the document to which you are to look, to know the gracious intentions of your Sister Republic. At the same time that the Citizen came forward with his republican fanfaronnade to propose negotiations ; he carried in his pocket certain instructions according to which the proposed treaty was to be formed, and from which he could not depart. By the extracts that I am going to make from those instructions, it will appear to every one of you, who is not so prepossessed in favour of the French as to be incapable of conviction, that the new treaty was to accord you no advantages, of which your participation in the war was not to be

the price, and that Citizen Genet was to plunge you into a war, with or without the consent of your government, to make a diversion in favour of France at the expense of your prosperity, and even your very existence as a nation.

Citizen Genet, though abundantly assuming and insolent, though uniting the levity of a Frenchman to the boorishness of a Calmuc, though deserving of much censure from your government, has, however, been loaded with a great deal of unmerited odium by the people of the United States. The man acted in full conformity to his instructions in all his attacks on your independence, and, therefore, his conduct is to be attributed to the Gouvernement of France, or the sovereign people of that happy Republic, and not to the poor Citizen himself. He was a mere machine in the business, and his not being ordered home to answer for his conduct, is a strong presumptive proof, that the sovereigns of France approved of it, without daring to avow it openly. I say without daring to avow it; because, though you could not have directly chastised them, yet they wanted your flour, and it is well known, that empty cupboards are no less formidable than great guns.

Now for the Citizen's instructions.

“ Struck with the grandeur and importance of
“ this negotiation, the Executive Council prescribed to Citizen Genet, to exert himself to
“ strengthen the Americans in the principles which
“ led them to unite themselves to France:—The
“ Executive Council are disposed to set on foot a
“ negotiation upon those foundations, and they do
“ not know but that such a treaty admits a latitude
“ still more extensive in becoming a national agreement, in which two great people shall suspend
“ their commercial and political interests to befriend the empire of liberty, wherever it can be
“ embraced,

“ embraced, and punish those powers who still
“ keep up an exclusive colonial and commercial
“ system, by declaring that their vessels shall
“ not be received in the ports of the contract-
“ ing parties*. Such a pact, which the peo-
“ ple of France will support with all the energy
“ which distinguishes them, will quickly contribute
“ to the general emancipation of the New World.
“ It is to convince the Americans of the practica-
“ bility of this that Citizen Genet must direct all
“ his attention : for, besides the advantages which
“ humanity (humanity !!) will draw from the suc-
“ cess of such a negotiation, we have at this mo-
“ ment a particular interest in taking steps to act
“ efficaciously against England and Spain, if, as
“ every thing announces, these powers attack us.
“ —And in this situation of affairs we ought to
“ excite, by all possible means, the zeal of the
“ Americans†.—The Executive Council has room
“ to believe that the consideration of their own
“ independence depending on our success, added
“ to the great commercial advantages which we are
“ disposed to concede to the United States, will
“ determine their government to adhere to all that
“ Citizen Genet shall propose to them on our part.
“ As it is possible, however, that they may adopt a
“ timid and wavering conduct, the Executive
“ Council charges him, in expectation that the
“ American government will finally determine to
“ make a common cause with us, to take such
“ steps as will appear to him exigencies may re-
“ quire, to serve the cause of liberty and the free-

* Here we see the ground work of the resolutions of Citizens Madison and Clarke.

† The Citizen was to excite the Americans, and convince the Americans, and not the American government.

“ dom of the people*.—Citizen Genet is to pre-
 “ vent all equipments in the American ports, un-
 “ less upon account of the French nation. He
 “ will take care to explain himself upon this object
 “ with the dignity and energy of the representative
 “ of a great† people, who in faithfully fulfilling
 “ their engagements know how to make, (ah!
 “ make!), to make their rights respected.—The
 “ guarantee of the West India islands is to form
 “ an essential clause in the new treaty. Citizen
 “ Genet will sound early the disposition of the
 “ American government, and make this a condi-
 “ tion, *sine qua non*, of their free commerce to
 “ the West Indies, so essential to the United states.
 “ —The minister of the marine department will
 “ transmit to him a certain number of blank let-
 “ tres of marque, which he will deliver to such
 “ French and American owners as shall apply for
 “ the same. The minister at war shall likewise
 “ deliver to Citizen Genet, officers’ commissions
 “ in blank for several grades (ranks) in the ar-
 “ my.”‡.

Now was your taking part in the war, that your
 Sister is carrying on for the good of the human
 race, to be the price of a treaty with her, or was
 it not?—The President, then, has not only acted
 consistently with his duty in avoiding it, but consis-
 tently also with your sentiments, already decidedly
 expressed by your approbation of his proclamation
 of neutrality.

* What people? If the American people are not meant here, the passage has no meaning at all.

† This is republican modesty!

‡ Under some of these commissions, certain citizens of the United States have made an irruption into the Spanish Settlements, which must end in an indemnity, to come out of the pockets of the people, or in a war with Spain.

But

But, say the Patriots. we could forgive him for not treating with France, if he had not treated with Great Britain. He treated with her while he refused to treat with our French brethren. But, for this accusation to have any weight with even the friends of France, it ought to be proved that the treaty negotiated with Great Britain, bears some resemblance, at least, to the one proposed by Citizen Genet. Can this be done? Has the President stipulated with Great Britain to suspend your commercial and political interests in order to befriend the empire of liberty, wherever it can be embraced? Has he promised that you shall contribute to the general emancipation of the New World? Has Great Britain asked you to assist her in the war? Are you to make a common cause with her? Has she made your guarantee of her islands an essential clause in the treaty, and a sine qua non of your free commerce with them? Where, then, is the likeness between the two treaties? And if there be none, by what sort of patriotic reasoning do they prove that the President, because he had refused to treat with France, ought not to have treated with Great Britain? This, however, appears to be the heaviest charge against him. "So bold an attack," says your demagogue Franklin, "upon the palladium of our rights, deserves a serious inquiry. However meritorious a motion for such an inquiry might be, if suggested in the Senate, yet, it could not be considered in place; for inquiries of this sort belong to the House of Representatives, as the Senate are the constitutional judges to try impeachments. If the grand inquest of the nation, the House of Representatives, will suffer so flagrant a breach of Constitution to pass unnoticed, we may conclude, that virtue and patriotism have abandoned our country." Hence

you

you are to conclude, then, that General Washington must be impeached, or virtue and patriotism have abandoned your country.

It is not for an Englishman to determine whether this be true, or not; but, if it be true, you will excuse him for saying: The Lord have mercy upon your country!

The only fair way for you to judge of the President's conduct relative to the treaty negotiated with Great Britain, and the one proposed by France, is, to draw a comparison between your present situation, and the situation in which you would have now been, had he followed a different conduct. As the tree is known by its fruit, so are the measures of the statesman by their effects. Look round you, and observe well the spectacle that the United States present at this moment. Imagine its reverse, and you have an idea of what would have been your situation, had the President yielded to the proposals of Citizen Genet, or those of the war party in Congress. The produce of the country would have been at about one third of its present price, while every imported article would have risen in a like proportion. The farmer must have sold his wheat at four shillings a bushel in place of fourteen, and in place of giving four dollars a yard for cloth, he must have given ten or twelve. Houses and lands, instead of being risen to triple their former value, as they now are, would have fallen to one-third of that value, and must, at the same time, have been taxed to nearly half their rent. In short, you would have been in the same situation as you were in 1777, and without the same means of extricating yourself from it. However, such a situation might, perhaps, be a desirable one to you. Habit does great things. People who were revolution mad, might look back with regret to the epoch just mentioned, and might even view with envy the effects of the French Revolution.

volution. If so, it is by no means too late yet; the President has only to refuse his ratification of the treaty with Great Britain, and adopt the measures proposed by the honest and incorruptible friends of the French Republic, and you may soon have your fill of what you desire. If you have wished to enjoy, once more the charms of change, and taste the sweets of war and anarchy (for I look upon them as inseparable in this country), then the President may merit an impeachment at your hands; but, if you have desired to live in peace and plenty, while the rest of the world has been ravaged and desolated, to accuse the President now, is to resemble the crew of ungrateful buccaniers, who, having safely arrived in port, cut the throat of their pilot.

P O S T S C R I P T.

I have this moment cast my eyes on an extract of a letter from Mr. Pinckney, the American Ambassador in London, which I think well worthy of a place here; because Franklin after some compliments to the patriotism of that gentleman insists that, if the negotiation had been left to him, you would have had a treaty, "such as would have been worthy an independent nation." What will this demagogue now say?

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Thomas Pinckney, Minister Plenipotentiary, to the Secretary of State, dated London, 16th November, 1793.

" Mr. Jay communicated freely with me on this subject during the course of the negotiation, and I have witnessed the great difficulties which have occurred in adjusting several of the articles. Although

“ Although some points might have been arranged
“ more beneficially for us if the treaty had been
“ dictated entirely by the United States, yet when
“ it is considered as a composition of differences,
“ where mutual complaints had rendered mutual
“ concessions necessary to establish a good under-
“ standing, I think it may fairly be said that as lit-
“ tle has been conceded by Mr. Jay, and as much
“ obtained for the United States, as, all circum-
“ stances considered, could be expected : the busi-
“ ness upon the whole, has been concluded more
“ beneficially for us than I had any hope we could
“ obtain by negotiation six months ago ; and, in
“ my opinion, places us in a more advantageous
“ situation than we should have been by becoming
“ parties to the war.”

END OF PLAIN ENGLISH.

ANALYSIS

OF

RANDOLPH'S VINDICATION.



AN ANALYSIS
OF
RANDOLPH'S VINDICATION.

THIS curious vindication, which was published on the 18th of December, contains an ample developement of the wavering conduct of Washington, with respect to the ratification of the treaty, and is the best history that can possibly be obtained of American politics during the last months of 1795.

Edmund Randolph, a lawyer of Virginia, was appointed to succeed Jefferson as Secretary of State. He was poor, had a very expensive family, and was, besides, a man very far from being famed for integrity. These circumstances rendered him an object of attention with the French Minister Fauchet, with whom he was, during the time of the Western Insurrection (in 1794), very intimate. Fauchet, in his dispatches to the Directory, gave an account of his connection with Randolph, and particularly of certain *money overtures*, which had been made to him by the American Secretary and others,

of whom, in a certain dispatch, called **NUMBER TEN**, which contained a sort of key to the history of the Western Insurrection, he spoke in these words :

“ Citizen Minister,

“ The measures which prudence prescribes to me
 “ to take, with respect to my colleagues, have still
 “ presided in the digesting of the dispatches signed
 “ by them, which treat of the insurrection of
 “ the western countries, and of the repressive
 “ means adopted by the government. I have allowed
 “ them to be confined to the giving of a
 “ faithful, but naked recital of events ; the reflections
 “ therein contained scarcely exceed the conclusions easily
 “ deducible from the character assumed by the public prints. I have reserved myself
 “ to give you, as far as I am able, a *key* to the facts
 “ detailed in our reports. When it comes in question
 “ to explain, either by conjectures or by certain data, the
 “ secret views of a *foreign government*, it would be imprudent
 “ to run the risk of indiscretions, and to give oneself up to men whose
 “ *known partiality for that government*, and similitude
 “ of passions and interests with its chiefs, might lead to
 “ confidences, the issue of which are incalculable. Besides,
 “ the *precious confessions of Mr. Randolph* alone throw a
 “ satisfactory light upon everything that comes to pass. These
 “ I have not yet communicated to my colleagues. The motives
 “ already mentioned lead to this reserve, and still less permit
 “ me to open myself to them at the present moment. I shall
 “ then endeavour, citizen, to give you a clue to all the
 “ measures, of which the common dispatches give you an
 “ account, and to discover the true causes of the explosion
 “ which it is obstinately resolved to repress with great
 “ means, although the state of things has no longer any
 “ thing alarming.——

“ In

“ In the mean time, although there was a certainty of having an army, yet it was necessary (for the government) to assure themselves of co-operators among the men whose patriotic reputation might influence their party, and whose lukewarmness or want of energy in the existing conjunctures might compromise the success of the plans. Of all the governors, whose duty it was to appear at the head of the requisitions, *the governor of Pennsylvania* * alone enjoyed the name of *Republican*: his opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury and of his systems was known to be unfavourable. *The Secretary of this state* † possessed great influence in the popular Society of Philadelphia, which in its turn influenced those of other states; of course *he merited attention*. It appears therefore that *these men*, with others unknown to me, all having without doubt, *Randolph at their head*, were balancing to decide on their party. Two or three days before the proclamation ‡ was published, and of course before the cabinet had resolved on its measures, Mr. Randolph came to see me with an air of great eagerness, and made to me *the overtures* of which I have given you an account in my No. 6. § Thus *with some thousands of dollars the Republic could have decided on civil war or on peace!* Thus the

* Mifflin.

† James Alexander Dallas, who was, indeed, one of the founders of the Democratic Society of Philadelphia, and who received, under the title of standing counsellor for the French Republic, a salary of about 200l. sterling a year.

‡ Proclamation of the President for supplying the Western Insurrection.

§ *Extract of Dispatch No. 6.*

“ Scarce was the commotion known, when the Secretary of State came to my house. All his countenance was grief. He requested of me a private conversation. It is all over, he

“ consciences of the pretended patriots of America
 “ have already their prices ! It is very true that
 “ the certainty of these conclusions, painful to
 “ be drawn, *will for ever exist in our archives !*
 “ What will be the old age of this government, if it
 “ is thus early described ! Such, citizen, is the evi-
 “ dent consequence of the system of finances con-
 “ ceived by Mr. Hamilton. He has made of a
 “ whole nation, a stock-jobbing, speculating, sel-
 “ fish people. Riches alone here fix consideration ;
 “ and as no one likes to be despised, they are uni-
 “ versally sought after.”

The dispatches, from which these extracts are made, were sent to Europe in the Jean Bart privateer, which was captured by an English frigate in the Channel. When the captain of Jean Bart saw that there was no hope of escaping, he prepared to execute his instructions by sinking the dispatches ; but, unfortunately for poor Randolph, and fortunately for the British Treaty, the Jean Bart had, during her voyage, captured an English merchantman, and made prisoner of a *Captain Goddard*, her commander. After the Jean Bart had struck her colours, and while the frigate's boat was making towards her, the French Captain threw the dispatches overboard, when Captain Goddard, most

“ said to me. A civil war is about to ravage our unhappy
 “ country. *Four men* by their talents, their influence, and their
 “ energy may save it. But debtors of English merchants, they
 “ will be deprived of their liberty, if they take the smallest
 “ step. *Could you lend them instantaneously funds sufficient to shel-*
 “ *ter them from English persecution ?* This inquiry astonished me
 “ much. It was impossible for me to make a satisfactory an-
 “ swer. You know my want of power, and my defect of *pe-*
 “ *cuniary means.* I shall draw myself from the affair by some
 “ common place remarks, and by throwing myself on *the pure*
 “ *and unalterable principles of the Republic.*”

gallantly

gallantly jumped after them, and was lucky enough to keep them afloat, till he was taken up by the boat of the frigate. The dispatches were immediately forwarded to London, from whence they were sent, by our government, to Mr. Hammond, our then Minister in America.

Nothing could be more fortunate; for, at the very moment that Mr. Hammond received the dispatches, he was preparing to return home without the ratification of the treaty, which, through the intrigues of Randolph, the President had been prevailed on to suspend, notwithstanding the advice and consent of the Senate to the contrary.

Mr. Hammond lost no time in communicating the dispatches to the American government. Randolph *retired* immediately to save himself from a formal dismission, and he had the folly to publish what he had the impudence to call his "*Vindication*." One object of this publication was, to clear himself of the heavy charge, which Fauchet's dispatches exhibited against him, in order to do which, he immediately repaired to Rhode Island, where Fauchet was waiting for a passage to France, and where he obtained, from his old friend, a "certificate," in which an attempt was made to explain away the too evident meaning of the dispatches No. 10 and No. 6. This attempt was, indeed, very lame, and equally unsuccessful with every other that was made to do away the charge of corruption. Another object of the *Vindication* was, to recriminate on the President, by proving, from documents in the possession of the former, that the President was at last induced to ratify the treaty, not from a persuasion that it was a good one, not from the obligations of his constitutional oath, which certainly left him no choice after the decision of the Senate, but from motives of resentment

B b 3

against

against France and her faction, which resentment had been excited by the intercepted dispatches. In this object Randolph was completely successful, as will appear by the following narrative and correspondence, which are extracted from his Vindication.

“ The treaty arrived on the evening of the 7th
“ day of March, 1795 ; and was, by the President’s
“ order, rigidly concealed by me from every person
“ upon earth, without a single exception, until I
“ was permitted to divulge it. I challenge the
“ whole world to prove the contrary. Scarcely a
“ day passed, on which he saw me, that he did not
“ enumerate many objections to it ;—objections,
“ going not only to the commercial part, but also
“ to the Canada article, which though seemingly
“ reciprocal in words, would, as he thought, want
“ reciprocity in practice ; to the omission of com-
“ pensation for the negroes and property plundered ;
“ and to some other parts of less consequence.
“ When the message which was to accompany the treaty to the Senate, was about to
“ be prepared, at the latter end of May, 1795, I
“ observed to him, that it was necessary for him to
“ make up his mind to ratify or not ; and he answered,
“ that although the treaty was so exceptionable to him,
“ yet he would not separate from the Senate. At this time the order of the British
“ King for seizing our provision vessels, bound to
“ France had never been heard of by the President ;
“ and even then he considered himself as at perfect liberty,
“ to ratify or not. On the 24th of June, 1795, the Senate
“ advised the conditional ratification. He then expressed a wish,
“ that the public opinion could be heard upon the subject ;
“ and, notwithstanding the vote of the Senate as to secrecy,
“ he authorized me, on the 29th, to promise to Mr. Brown the printer a copy of the
“ treaty

“ treaty for publication, *with a view to draw forth*
 “ *the sentiments of the people* *. I accordingly gave
 “ him a paragraph for insertion on Monday the
 “ 29th, assuring the public, that the treaty would
 “ appear on the Wednesday following. Mr. Brown
 “ would have received the copy of the treaty im-
 “ mediately, if I had not delivered the only one,
 “ which I had, to Mr. Adet, the French minister, by
 “ the President’s direction. But before Wednes-
 “ day arrived, it came forth from another press.

“ During the sitting of the Senate, a paragraph
 “ appeared in an English paper, mentioning the
 “ foregoing provision-order, as it is called. But
 “ there was nothing satisfactory concerning its
 “ existence or particulars. When they rose, the
 “ President was so far convinced, though not offi-
 “ cially, of its existence, that he admitted it, as a
 “ fact, upon which to reason in respect of the
 “ treaty. Then it was, that is, soon after the Se-
 “ nate rose, that he began to balance, whether to
 “ ratify or not. He acknowledges that he doubt-
 “ ed; and I am ready to own that shortly after
 “ the rising of the Senate, until the 13th of July
 “ 1795, he doubted only; though with great
 “ strength. This it was, which induced me to
 “ hold with Mr. Hammond, the conversation of
 “ the 29th of June, 1795 †, which is recorded in
 the

* This statement of Randolph was never contradicted, and it clearly proves, that the President was much more attached to his popularity, than to the good of his country or the observance of his oath, which bound him to ratify after the advice and consent of the Senate was given.

† *Substance of a Conversation with Mr. Hammond, June 29, 1795, 11 o’Clock, A. M.*

“ I called upon him, and told him, that as he wished for-
 “ merly a sight of the treaty when I could not shew it to him,
 “ I would now very willingly impart it, if he wished to see it.

“ the department of State, and was approved by the
 “ President. This it was, which induced me to
 “ write to Mr. Monroe on the 2d of July, 1795,
 “ under the President’s eye and special correction,
 “ that the President has not yet decided upon the
 “ final measure to be adopted by himself. This it
 “ was, which induced him to consult all the offi-
 “ cers of government upon some collateral points.
 “ This it was, which induced him to consult a cer-
 “ tain individual upon the treaty at large ; and to
 “ require me to give an opinion, which I delivered
 “ to him on the 12th of July, 1795, in the evening.
 “ That opinion will be particularly stated in my
 “ general letter. But it is necessary to quote the
 “ following concluding passages :
 “ I take the liberty then of suggesting, that a
 “ personal interview be immediately had between
 “ the Secretary of State and Mr. Hammond, and
 “ that the substance of the address to him be
 “ this.—

“ He said, that he supposed the essence of it was in Bache’s
 “ paper of this morning. I replied, that the detail would give
 “ the subject more completely. He then said, that, frankly
 “ speaking, he had seen a copy, which *a member * of the Senate*
 “ *had brought to him* : that he was much pleased with the treaty
 “ himself. This last expression was put into two or three dif-
 “ ferent shapes, to draw something from me. I observed only,
 “ that by the constitution it now rested with the President, and
 “ that he had entered into the consideration of the subject.
 “ He then a read a letter from Lord Grenville to him, on the
 “ 18th of April, 1795, expressing great solicitude at not having
 “ heard of the arrival of the treaty at Philadelphia ; and urging
 “ Mr. Hammond to give the earliest notice of its arrival, and
 “ of the steps taken. Our conversation closed with his saying,
 “ that if he wished to consult the treaty further he would call
 “ upon me for a further inspection of it.

EDMOND RANDOLPH.’

* Mr. King.

“ I know

“ I know, Sir, that you are acquainted with the
“ late treaty between the United States and his Bri-
“ tannic Majesty ; and presume, that you have seen
“ the vote of the Senate, advising a ratification of
“ it upon condition. That treaty being still sub-
“ ject to the negative of the President is now be-
“ fore them, undetermined as to its fate. The
“ candour, which has reigned throughout our pro-
“ ceedings, induces me, with the permission of the
“ President, to explain to you, as the minister ple-
“ nipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty near the
“ United States, what is the course of his reflec-
“ tion upon this momentious transaction. If his
“ Majesty could doubt the sincerity of the Presi-
“ dent’s professions to maintain full harmony with
“ the British Nation, his doubt would vanish, when
“ he is told, Sir, as I now tell you, that, notwith-
“ standing after the most mature consideration of
“ the treaty, there are several parts by no means
“ coincident with his wishes and expectations ; yet
“ he had determined to ratify it, in the manner
“ advised by the Senate.—He had determined to
“ put his hand to it without again submitting it,
“ even after the insertion of the new article, to the
“ Senate.

“ But we are informed by the public gazettes,
“ and by letters tolerably authentic, that vessels,
“ even American vessels, laden with provisions for
“ France, may be captured and dealt with, as car-
“ rying a kind of qualified contraband. If this be
“ not true, you can correct me.

“ Upon the supposition of its truth, the Presi-
“ dent cannot persuade himself, that he ought to
“ ratify, during the existence of the order. His
“ reasons will be detailed in a proper representation
“ through you (Mr. Hammond) to his Britan-
“ nic Majesty. At the same time, that order being
“ removed, he will ratify without delay, or farther
“ scruple.

“ scruple. Of this also his Britannic Majesty will
“ be informed in the most explicit and unequivocal
“ terms.

“ Now, Sir, the object of my interview with you
“ arises from my recollection of your having ex-
“ pressed to me a wish, that the ratifications should
“ be exchanged here; in order that you might
“ have some agency in closing the treaty. I am
“ thus led to believe, that it may not be disagreea-
“ ble to you, to undertake what I shall now have
“ the honour of proposing to you.

“ Supposing that Mr. Jay's negotiation would
“ absorb every controversy: that nothing would be
“ left to bed one for some time in the ordinary course
“ of residence: and that Mr. Pinckney would have
“ returned to London before he was wanted there, he
“ was dispatched, as our Envoy, to Madrid. He did
“ not commence his journey until the 11th of May
“ last. The Secretary of the legation, Mr. Deas,
“ is the only person remaining in London, as the
“ political agent of the United States. Being de-
“ sirous of communicating every thing here, as far
“ as we can, it has occurred to me to state in a me-
“ morial to you the situation of the business, and
“ the foregoing declaration of the President's pur-
“ pose to ratify. This, we presume, will be imme-
“ diately transmitted through you to the British
“ ministry. The reply may be handed to Mr.
“ Deas. You will also be furnished with a copy of
“ the form in which the President means to ratify,
“ when the order is rescinded.

“ The President had indeed once thought to or-
“ der one of our European ministers on to London
“ to supply for this purpose the place of Mr. Pinck-
“ ney. But the most weighty objections render
“ this impracticable; and it may be also conceived
“ that to send over a fresh diplomatic character at
“ this

“ this stage of the business, would neither be very
 “ easy, nor very expeditious.

“ It is also contemplated by the President to pro-
 “ pose that, for the purpose of saving delay, the ra-
 “ tifications may be exchanged here. For although
 “ he does not doubt the constitutionality of the
 “ Senate’s act, and is advised too, that the pro-
 “ posed article, if agreed to by his Britannic Ma-
 “ jesty, need not be submitted to them before rati-
 “ fication, yet he entertains serious doubts whe-
 “ ther he can himself ratify, without having the
 “ very article under his eye, after it shall have
 “ been assented to by his Britannic Majesty. The
 “ difference of time in the one form or the other
 “ will consist only in a voyage from London to
 “ Philadelphia. Provision will be made for the
 “ subscription in London of any papers, which form
 “ may require.

“ You will oblige me, Sir, by giving me your
 “ sentiments on this statement.”

“ In the morning of the 13th of July, 1795, the
 “ President instructed me in his room, to have the
 “ proposed interview with Mr. Hammond immedi-
 “ ately, and to address him as I had suggested. I
 “ instantly returned to the office, and sent a note,
 “ requesting him to come thither. He came in
 “ half an hour ; and I executed the President’s in-
 “ structions. Mr. Hammond asked me, if it would
 “ not be sufficient to remove the order out of the
 “ way, and after the ratification to renew it ? I
 “ replied, perhaps with some warmth, that this
 “ would be a mere shift, as the principle was the
 “ important thing. He then asked me, if the Pre-
 “ sident was irrevocably determined not to ratify ;
 “ if the provision-order was not removed ? I an-
 “ swered, that I was not instructed upon that point.
 “ He said that he would convey my observations to
 “ Lord

“ Lord Grenville by a vessel which was to sail the next day ; and then left me.

“ I immediately returned to the President's room, and acquainted him with the foregoing circumstances. He said, that I might have informed Mr. Hammond, that he never would ratify, if the provision-order was not removed out of the way.—He then directed me to prepare the memorial of which I had spoken to Mr. Hammond, the form of ratification, and instructions for the person, who was to manage the business in London.

“ The next day, being Tuesday the 14th of July, 1795, I met with Mr. Hammond at the President's public room ; when he took me on one side, and again inquired of me, if he was irrevocably determined not to ratify the treaty during the existence of the provision-order ? added, that he had written to Lord Grenville what I had communicated to him the day before ; and asked me, when he might expect the memorial, which my communication promised to him. It is true, that with respect to the provision-order I might have told him, what the President had declared the day before. But as my conversation was designed only to shew, that the President had not let the subject sleep, and that he had taken his decision ; and as the promised memorial would so soon repeat the same ideas, I saw no necessity for changing for the present the ground, upon which it had been placed by me. As to the memorial, I engaged, that he should have it before he sailed ; which was sufficiently early for every purpose ; since it was proposed by me in my letter above-mentioned, on the 12th of July, 1795, and approved by the President on the next day, not to send over a new minister ;—but to use Mr. Hammond's agency.—I do not assert that I re-
“ lated

“ lated to the President this last conversation with
“ Mr. Hammond ; but I believe I did.

“ The President left this city for Mount Ver-
“ non on Wednesday the 15th of July, 1795. As
“ soon afterwards as an indisposition, and the na-
“ ture of the subject, would permit, I prepared, as
“ will be immediately stated, the memorial ; and at
“ different times seeing Mr. Hammond, and learn-
“ ing from him, when he expected to go, I con-
“ stantly assured him, that it should be ready for
“ him. Not having by me copies of all the private
“ letters, which I wrote to the President, while he
“ was in Virginia, I may not perhaps observe the
“ due order in mentioning the papers ; but for the
“ facts in other respects I vouch.

“ The President wrote to me from Baltimore on
“ the 18th of July, 1795, desiring, that the address
“ of the people of Boston should be taken into
“ consideration by the secretaries and Attorney-
“ general. They were collected immediately upon
“ the receipt of the letter ; and did not at once
“ agree, whether an answer should or should not
“ be returned. But it was mentioned then by me,
“ as I had mentioned to one or two at least of
“ them before, and as I mentioned again the next
“ day, that the President had taken a determination
“ pursuant to the above-mentioned communication
“ to Mr. Hammond. It was on this fact, that the
“ answer to that address contained the following
“ passage :—‘ Under this persuasion I have resolved
“ on the manner of executing the duty before me.’
“ There was at this time no other ‘ *resolution* ’ of
“ the President, to which the answer could refer ;
“ and I never could have assented to that phrase,
“ but from my knowledge, that the President had
“ *resolved*, (though the final, formal act was yet in-
“ complete) not to ratify the treaty, until the pro-
“ vision-order was arranged to his satisfaction.

“ Next

“ Next in date is the memorial, the rough draught of which was sent to the President, containing the following passages ;

“ But neither his Britannic Majesty nor the world will be surprized, when they shall be informed, that the disposition to ratify has been *suspended* at least by a recent order, issued under the royal authority. Its genuineness, though not ascertained by official documents, is scarcely anywhere doubted. It is understood to import, that all ships, of whatever nation, laden with corn or provisions for French ports, may be seized, and from this description not even neutral vessels are excepted. Against this doctrine the United States have often protested ; and more particularly in the memorial of their minister plenipotentiary in London to the British secretary of state for foreign affairs, and in a letter from the department of state to the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty in Philadelphia on the *———It was not without regret, that the efforts were unsuccessful in conforming to the current of modern treaties the definition of contraband. But that the order of the 8th of June, 1793 was thus repeated upon the United States by the proposed treaty, was as abhorrent from the rules of construction, as an acquiescence in that construction was remote from every opinion hitherto formed. It was believed, and is still believed, that the treaty justifies no such interpretation. The considerations, which indispose the United States to yield to it, are too obvious to require an enumeration ; *and gain, instead of losing force, every day.* To ratify then, in the face of this comment, would stamp upon *———article a

* This is a blank in the rough memorial.

“ meaning which the United States disavow ; and
 “ contribute to the establishment of a principle,
 “ against which they revolt. Hence objections,
 “ which might have been overbalanced by the hope
 “ of burying past differences, and of raising a bar-
 “ rier against fresh injuries array themselves again
 “ in view ; when the abandonment of them, not-
 “ withstanding, leaves behind this burthen upon
 “ American agriculture and commerce.—

* * * * *

“ But as in the language of the constitution of
 “ the United States, the President is to *make* the
 “ treaty, no method is satisfactory to him, by
 “ which he can or ought to delegate to a subordi-
 “ nate agent the determination when the pro-
 “ posed treaty shall become the supreme law of the
 “ land. With this impression, he cannot *now*
 “ adopt any style of ratification which shall pre-
 “ clude him from being personally satisfied, that
 “ the advice and consent of the Senate, which are
 “ the ground-work of his action on treaties, have
 “ been truly pursued. To demonstrate, however,
 “ that candour alone prevails throughout this trans-
 “ action, there is annexed to this memorial the
 “ draught of a ratification which the President *con-*
 “ *templates to use*, whensoever the occasion shall
 “ require ; that is, *when he shall be satisfied as to*
 “ *the order for seizing provisions, and constitution-*
 “ *al forms present no objection.*

“ The chief obstacle, which is dependant for its
 “ removal on his Britannic Majesty, is the order
 “ above stated. The President is too much de-
 “ prived of its particulars, to declare, what shall
 “ be his irrevocable determination ; but the sen-
 “ sibility, which it has excited in his mind, can-
 “ not be allayed *without the most unequivocal stipu-*
 “ *lation*

“ *lation, to reduce to the only construction, in which*
 “ *he can acquiesce, the article of the treaty.*

“ Before the President had received this rough
 “ draught of a memorial, and the form of an even-
 “ tual ratification, therein referred to, he wrote to
 “ me on the 22d of July, thus :

“ In my hurry, I did not signify the propriety of
 “ letting those gentlemen † know *fully*, my deter-
 “ mination with respect to the ratification of the
 “ treaty ;—and the train it was in ;—but as this
 “ was necessary, in order to enable them to form
 “ their opinions on the subject submitted, I take it
 “ for granted that both were communicated to them,
 “ by you, as a matter of course.—The first, that is
 “ the conditional ratification, (*if the late order,*
 “ *which we have heard of, respecting provision-*
 “ *vessels, is not in operation*), may, on all fit occa-
 “ sions, be spoken of as my determination, unless
 “ from any thing you have heard, or met with since
 “ I left the city, it should be thought more advi-
 “ sable to communicate farther with me on the
 “ subject ;—my opinion respecting the treaty, is
 “ the same now that it was, that is, *not favourable*
 “ *to it*,—but, that it is better to ratify it in the
 “ manner the Senate have advised, (*and with the*
 “ *reservation already mentioned*) than to suffer mat-
 “ ters to remain as they are,—unsettled.—Little
 “ has been said to me on the subject of this treaty
 “ along the road I passed ; and I have seen no one
 “ since from whom I could hear much concerning
 “ it :—but, from indirect discourses, I find endea-
 “ vours are not wanting to place it in all the odious
 “ points of view of which it is susceptible, and in
 “ some which it will not admit.

† The Secretaries and Attorney-General.

“ The President’s letter to me from Virginia, on the 29th of July, 1795, forms a connection branch only of the subject ; but if it were omitted, the omission might be imputed to some improper motive.

“ It begins with announcing his determination to return almost immediately to Philadelphia ; and proceeds thus :

“ I am excited to this resolution by the violent
“ and extraordinary proceedings which have, and
“ are about taking place, in the northern parts of
“ the Union, and may be expected in the southern ;
“ because I think that the memorial,—the ratification—
“ and the instructions, which are framing,
“ are of such vast magnitude, as not only to require
“ great individual consideration ; but a solemn conjunct
“ revision. The latter could not happen, if
“ you were to come to this place ; nor would there
“ be that source of information to be had, as is to
“ be found at, and continually flowing to, the seat
“ of government :—and besides, in the course of
“ deliberating on these great matters, the examination
“ of official papers may, more than probable,
“ be found essential : and these could be resorted
“ to no where else.

“ The next paragraph speaks of the inconvenience of an immediate return, but says, that,
“ whilst he is in office, he shall never suffer private
“ convenience to interfere with what he conceives
“ to be his official duties.”

“ He goes on thus :

“ I view the opposition, which the treaty is receiving from the meetings in different parts of
“ the Union in a very serious light. Not because
“ there is *more* weight in *any* of the objections,
“ which are made to it, than were foreseen at
“ first ;—for there are *none* in *some* of them ; and

“ gross misrepresentations in others.—Nor as it
“ respects myself personally; for this shall have
“ no influence on my conduct; plainly perceiving,
“ and I am accordingly preparing my mind for the
“ obloquy, which disappointment and malice are
“ collecting to heap upon my character. But I
“ am alarmed on account of the effect it may have
“ on, and the advantage the French government
“ may be disposed to make of, the spirit which is
“ at work; to cherish a belief in them, that the
“ treaty is calculated to favour Great Britain at
“ their expense. Whether they believe or dis-
“ believe these tales, the effect it will have upon
“ the nation will be nearly the same: for whilst
“ they are at war with that power, or so long as the
“ animosity between the two nations exist, it will,
“ no matter at whose expense, be their policy, and
“ it is feared, it will be their conduct, to prevent
“ us from being on good terms with Great Britain,
“ or from her deriving any advantages from our
“ commerce, which they can prevent, however
“ much we may be benefited thereby ourselves.
“ To what length this policy and interest may
“ carry them is problematical; but when they see
“ the people of this country divided, and such a
“ violent opposition given to the measures of their
“ own government, pretendedly in their favour, it
“ may be extremely embarrassing, to say no more
“ of it.

“ To sum the whole up in a few words. I have
“ never, since I have been in the administration of
“ the government, seen a crisis, which in my judg-
“ ment has been so pregnant of interesting events;
“ nor one from which more is to be apprehended;
“ whether viewed on one side or the other. From
“ New York there now is, and I am told will fur-
“ ther be, a counter current; but how formidable
“ it may appear, I know not;—If the same does
“ not

“ not take place at Boston and other towns, it will
 “ afford but too strong evidence that the opposition
 “ is in a manner universal, or that those of dif-
 “ ferent sentiments are supine or intimidated;
 “ *which would make the ratification a serious busi-*
 “ *ness indeed.** But as it respects the French, even
 “ counter-resolutions, would, for the reasons I
 “ have already given, do little more than weaken,
 “ in a small degree, the effect those of the other
 “ complexion would have.

“ The remainder of the letter relates to the an-
 swers to be returned to the different town and other
 meetings on the treaty; with a postscript, desiring,
 that the confidential officers might “ prepare their
 “ minds on the several subjects therein mentioned
 “ against he should arrive.”

“ On the 31st of July, 1795, the President
 wrote to me the following letter from Mount Ver-
 non.

“ ON Wednesday evening, I sent the packet,
 “ now under cover with this letter, to the post-
 “ office in Alexandria; to be forwarded next morn-
 “ ing at a usual hour (4 o'clock) by the Baltimore
 “ mail; but, behold! when my letter bag was
 “ brought back from the office, and emptied, I
 “ not only got those which were addressed to me
 “ —among which yours of the 27th was one—but
 “ all those which I had sent up the evening be-
 “ fore.

“ I have to regret this blunder of the postmaster
 “ on account of the enclosures, some of which I
 “ wished to have got to your hands without delay,
 “ that they might have undergone the considera-
 “ tion, and acting upon, which was suggested in
 “ the letter which accompanied them.—On another

* Still proves that he had nothing but expedience in view.

“ account I am not sorry for the return of the packet ; as I resolved thereupon, and reading some letters which I received at the same time, to await your acknowledgment of the receipt of my letter of the 24th ins. before I would set out ; as I should, thereby, be placed on a certainty whether your journey hither, or mine to Philadelphia, would, under all circumstances, be deemed most eligible ; or whether the business could not be equally as well done without either, repeating now what I did in my letter of the 24th ; that I do not require more than a day’s notice to repair to the seat of government ;—and that if you, and the confidential officers with you, are not clear in the measures which are best to be pursued on the several matters mentioned in my last, my own opinion is, and for the reasons there given, that difficult and intricate, or delicate questions, had better be settled there, where the streams of information are continually pouring in, than at any other place ; and that I would set out accordingly.

“ To be wise and temperate, as well as firm, the crisis most eminently calls for ; for there is too much reason to believe, from the pains which have been taken before—at—and since the advice of the Senate respecting the treaty, that the prejudices against it are more extensive than generally imagined.—This, from men who are of no party, but well disposed to the government, I have lately learnt is the case.—How should it be otherwise ? when no stone has been left unturned that could impress the people’s minds with the most arrant falsehoods—that their rights have not only been *neglected*, but absolutely *sold* ;—that there are *no* reciprocal advantages in the treaty ;—that the benefits are *all* on the side of Great Britain ;—and, what seems to

“ have

“ have more weight than all the rest, and is accordingly pressed, is, that this treaty is made with a design to oppress the French, in open violation of our treaty with that nation, and contrary, too, to every principle of gratitude and sound policy.

“ In time, when passion shall have yielded to sober reason, the current may possibly turn; but in the mean while, this government in relation to France and England, may be compared to a ship between the rocks of Sylla and Charybdis. —If the treaty is ratified, the partizans of the French (or rather of war and confusion) will excite them to hostile measures; or at least to unfriendly sentiments—if it is not, there is no foreseeing *all* the consequences which may follow, as it respects Great Britain.

“ It is not to be inferred from hence, that I am, or shall be disposed to quit the ground I have taken; unless circumstances more imperious than have yet come to my knowledge, should compel it; for there is but one *straight* course in these things, and that is to seek truth and pursue it steadily.—The reason I mention them is to shew, that a close investigation of the subject is more than ever necessary; and that they are strong evidences of the necessity of the most circumspect in carrying the determination of government into effect with prudence, as it respects our own country; and with every exertion to produce a change for the better from G. Britain.

“ The memorial seems well designed to answer the end proposed; and by the time it is revised and new dressed, you will probably (either in the resolutions which are, or will be handed to me—or in the newspaper publications, which you promised to be attentive to) have seen all the objections against the treaty which have any

“ real weight in them ; and which may be fit subjects for representation in the memorial, or for the instructions, or both.—But how much longer the presentation of the memorial can be delayed without exciting unpleasant sensations *here* or involving serious evils *elsewhere*, you, who are at the scene of information and action, can decide better than I.—In a matter, however, so interesting and pregnant of consequences, there ought to be no precipitation : but, on the contrary, every step should be explored before it is taken and every word weighed before it is uttered, or delivered in writing.

“ The form of the ratification requires more diplomatic experience, and legal knowledge than I possess, or have the means of acquiring at this place, and therefore I shall say nothing on this head.”

“ The identical memorial, which the President says seems well designed to answer the *end proposed*, and from which the foregoing extract was made, and the very form of a ratification to which he refers, are now in my possession.

“ The reason why the President thought it probable, that I might be on my way to Mount Vernon was, that I had intimated it to him. Messrs. Wolcott, Pickering and Bragford had urged me to go thither, in order to close the business, and put an end to every expectation abroad that the President's purpose could now be changed. I had actually engaged a carriage for the purpose ; but was prevented by a great influx of business from the President and other quarters.

“ Before the memorial returned to Philadelphia, Mr. Wolcott said something to me about delay in concluding the business ; observing, that it would give the French government an opportunity of professing to make very extensive overtures to the
United

United States, and thus embarrass the treaty with Great Britain. When I read the memorial to Col. Pickering in his office, he said. "This, as the sailors say, is throwing the whole up in the wind." The memorial after it was rendered more correct in language, retained the former determination against ratifying, except in the mode now expressed, if the provision-order was abolished. Although it expressly declares, that it is only a more particular disclosure of my conversation on the 13th instant, yet no observation was ever made in my presence or to my belief, by the President, that I had exceeded his intention. I spoke of his determination on the 12th of August 1795, when we were in consultation on the treaty, and no objection was even hinted at. I also shewed to the President, on the morning of the 13th of August. 1795, the letters which had been written to Mr. Monroe; and to the other ministers, as follow. To Col. Monroe, July 14, 1795.

"The treaty is not yet ratified by the President; nor will it be ratified, I believe, until it returns from England; if then. But I do not mean this for a public communication or for any public body or men. I am engaged in a work, which when finished, and approved by the President, will enable me to speak precisely to you. The late British order for seizing provisions is a weighty obstacle to a ratification. I do not suppose that such an attempt to starve France will be countenanced."

To all our Foreign Ministers, July 21, 1795.

"When I inform you that the President has not yet ratified the treaty, his character will convince you, that nothing will deter him from doing what he thinks right; and that the final question lies open from causes, unconnected with any considerations but the interest and du-

“ ties of the United States. He is at present in
“ Virginia, and will doubtless very soon take his
“ conclusive step. If I were permitted to con-
“ jecture, what that would be ; I should suspect,
“ that at any rate he would not sign it, until it
“ should return from England, with the addition
“ of the suspending article : and probably not
“ even then, if a late British order for the capture
“ of provisions going to France, should have been
“ issued as we suppose, and increase the objections
“ which have been lavished upon it.”

“ The purpose of this statement is to shew that
the President (notwithstanding he was at liberty to
ratify, if he pleased, even after the declaration to Mr.
Hammond, who would readily admit a recantation
to that effect, and although I studiously kept him at
liberty by my acts and writings,) went to Mount
Vernon on the 15th of July, 1795, determined to
adhere to the ground, which he had taken on the
13th, in my oral representation to Mr. Hammond,
and came back on the 11th of August with the
same determination, as far as I could discover. For
in addition to the preceding circumstances, on the
evening of the 11th of August, I observed to him,
in the presence of Messrs. Pickering and Bradford,
that the sooner the memorial was revised by the
gentlemen jointly, who were prepared with their
opinions, the better ; and he replied, that he sup-
posed every thing of this sort had been settled.
But I told him, that they were not, as Col. Pick-
ering was for an immediate ratification ; to which he
said, “ I told Mr. Randolph that I thought the
“ postponement of ratification was a ruinous step ;”
or words tantamount.

“ I might confirm this, if necessary, by a very
influential letter in the President's hands, dated,
the 10th or 14th of July, approved by him, and
differing from my opinion, on the definitive step
only

only on this respect ; that the writer would have suspended the treaty, not by refusing to ratify, but by refusing to *exchange ratifications*, until an attempt was made to abolish the provision-order ; and, if it miscarried afterwards, until our minister should receive further instructions.

“ That a change in the purpose of the President had taken place, will also appear by the change of expression between the memorial, which the President approved at Mount Vernon, and that delivered finally to Mr. Hammond. In the former, the Secretary of State proposes to communicate to the British minister more formally, more precisely, and more at large, the *suggestions* made in the conversation of the 13th of July, 1795. In the latter, he says, that in conformity with his assurance on the 13th of July, 1795, “ he “ now communicates, by memorial, the *determination*, which the President of the United States “ has thought proper to adopt.” The draught which I made in consequence of the change in the President’s opinion, proves the constancy of my idea. It mentions the determination, which the President has, *upon further reflection*, thought proper to adopt.”

On the 11th of August, when the President returned from Mount Vernon, Mr. Walcott, the Secretary of the Treasury, to whom Mr. Hammond had handed the intercepted dispatches, made a full discovery of the affair. The President, who ’till this moment, had reposed great confidence in Randolph, now seeing how he had been betrayed, this opportunity was seized by Walcott and Pickney to urge the immediate ratification of the British treaty, which had been suspended, in a great measure, by the intrigues of Randolph. The President,

sident, who perceived in the dispatches a good handle against the French and their partizans, followed the advice of the two Secretaries, and, without giving his reasons to Randolph, ratified the treaty on the 14th of August—On what trifling circumstances do the most important events often depend ! Had not the Jean Bart been captured by a British frigate ; had the Jean Bart not previously taken a British merchantman ; or, had not such a spirited man as Captain Goddard been present when the dispatches were thrown overboard, the British treaty might never have been ratified, the dispute between the two nations might have become more acrimonious, and America might have joined France in the war.

In a few days after the treaty was signed, the contents of the intercepted dispatches were made known to Randolph, who till then, was totally at a loss to account for the sudden change in the President's determination. On the 12th of August (the next day after the dispatches were communicated to the President), a council was held on the ratification of the treaty, and Randolph, as if nothing had happened, was summoned to attend. At this council he opposed the ratification with all his might, while the other Secretaries urged it, and while the President sat listening and watching the words of the traitor. On the 14th, the treaty was ratified. On the 15th, the President, pursuing his system of concealment, invited Randolph to dinner with a party of chosen friends, and placed him at the foot of his table. On the 18th the same air of hospitality was assumed ; but this was the last day that the perjured villain was to enjoy the triumph of his treachery.—Let him tell the rest himself.

“ On Wednesday, the 19th of August 1795, I was going to the President's, as usual, at 9 o'clock in the morning ;

morning ; when his steward, Mr. Kidd, came to me at Mr. Rawle's, in Market-street ; and informed me, that the President desired me to postpone my visit, until half after ten. I supposed at first, that he might wish to have the latest hour for writing by the Southern mail of that day, or perhaps to ride out. But, as I was desirous of asking him a short question, which would determine me as to the manner of executing a piece of business, to be carried to him that morning ; I inquired of Mr. Kidd, if he was then occupied with any particular person ? and I was answered, that the President was every moment expecting some gentlemen. Accordingly I turned to the office ; and at the appointed hour called at the President's. I desired the servant, who attended at the door, to tell the President, that I was come. But upon being informed, that Mr. Walcott and Colonel Pickering had been there for some time, I went up stairs : and began to think, that the steward had committed a mistake. I supposed, that a consultation with the heads of departments had been intended to be held by the President earlier in the day, and that it might be proper for me to explain the cause of my delay. But when I entered the President's room, he, with great formality, rose from his chair ; and Messrs. Walcott and Pickering were also marked in their efforts towards a like formality. I therefore resolved to wait for the unfolding of this mysterious appearance. Very few words passed between the President and myself ; and those which fell from him, shewed plainly to me, that he wished to hurry to something else. Immediately afterwards, he put his hand into his pocket, and pulling out a large letter, said something of this nature : “ Mr. Randolph ! here is a letter, which I desire you to read, and make such explanations, as you choose.” I took it, and

and found it to be a letter, written in French by Mr. Fauchet, on about fifteen pages of large paper. On reading the letter, I perceived, that two of the most material papers, which were called the dispatches No. 3, and 6, were not with it. † I observed to the President, that I presumed the letter to be an intercepted one. He nodded his head. I then said, that at that time I could recollect very little, which would throw light on the affair ; but I would go over the letter, and make such remarks as occurred to me. I did so ; but being thus suddenly, and without any previous intimation, called upon before *a council*, which was minutely prepared at

† *Extract from the political dispatch, No. 3, of Joseph Fauchet to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.*

“ Then the Secretary of State appeared to open himself without reserve. He imparted to me the intestine divisions, which were rumbling in the United States. The idea of an approaching commotion affected him deeply. He hoped to prevent it, by the ascendancy, which he daily acquired over the mind of the President, who consulted him in all affairs, and to whom he told the truth, which his colleagues disguised from him.

“ The President of the United States, says he, is the mortal enemy of England ; and the friend of France. I can affirm it upon my honour. But not mixing with the world, he may be circumvented by the dark manœuvres of some men, who wind themselves in an hundred ways, to draw him into measures, which will cause him to lose all his popularity. Under the pretext of giving energy to government, they would absolutely make a monarch of him. They deceive him, as to the true spirit of the people ; as well as upon the affairs of France. I am sure, that at this moment, he escapes from them, and that in all these perfidious manœuvres they have not been able to dissuade him from pronouncing with vigour against the ministry of England. He has——But it is impossible for me in conscience to make you this confession. I should betray the duties of my office. Every thing, which I can say to you, is, that it is important for our two nations, that you continue to visit him frequently. He will be touched with the proofs of friendship, which you shall testify to him ; and I am sure, that this will be an infallible means of causing them to be valued. I would quit the post, which he has confided to me, if he could be brought

every point ; not seeing two of the most essential references ; and having but an imperfect idea of most of the circumstances alluded to, I could rely only on two principles, which were established in my mind ; the first was, that according to my sincere belief, I never made an improper communication to Mr. Fauchet ; the second was, that no money was ever received by me from him, nor any overture, made to him by me for that purpose. My

brought to make any attempt upon the rights of the people. A bill has passed the house of representatives, which wounds liberty. They have at least taken away the article which prevents the sale of the French prizes in our ports. My heart is troubled by it. But I have seen with pleasure, that my reflections on this subject, upon the dreadful crisis, which would result from an abuse of it, have made a deep impression upon the mind, I will even say, upon the heart of the President, who is an honourable man. Let us unite, Mr. Fauchet, to draw our two nations closer together. Those who love liberty, are for fraternizing with the French Republic, the partizans of slavery prefer an alliance with England.

“ I, he said to me, (in speaking of the treaty of Jay), affirm that there is no question in his mission, but to demand a solemn reparation for the spoliations which our commerce has experienced on the part of England ; and to give you a proof, that Mr. Jay cannot enter into a negotiation contrary to what we owe to France, I will give you the part of the instructions which concern it.

“ Although the following note, which I have, written in his own hand, with a promise to burn it, be little important, I annex it hereto.

“ If the English ministry shall insinuate, that the whole or any part of these instructions should appear to be influenced by a supposed predilection in favour of France, you will arrest the subject as being foreign to the present question. It is what the English nation has no right to object to ; because we are free in our sentiments and independent in our government.”

“ The following case is to be unchangeable. As there is no doubt, that the English ministry will endeavour to detach us from France, you will inform them of the firm determination of the government of the United States, not to deviate from our treaties, or our engagements with France.”

obser-

observations therefore were but short. However, I had some recollection of Mr. Fauchet having told me of machinations against the French Republic, Governor Clinton and myself; and thinking it not improbable, that the overture, which was spoken of in No. 6, might be, in some manner, connected with that business, and might relate to the obtaining of intelligence, I mentioned my impression; observing at the same time, that I would throw my ideas on paper. The President desired Messrs. Walcott and Pickering to put questions to me. This was a style of proceeding, to which I would not have submitted, had it been pursued. But Mr. Pickering put no question; and Mr. Walcott only asked an explanation of what I had said, as to Governor Clinton and myself. This I did not object to repeat, nearly as I had spoken it. Had I not been deprived of No. 6, the terms used in it, "*of sheltering from British persecution,*" would probably have reminded me fully of the supposed machinations of Mr. Hammond and others. As it was, I mentioned the circumstance generally in the President's room, who remembered to have heard something of a meeting, held at New-York by Mr. Hammond and others during the last summer. While I was appealing to the President's memory for communications, which I had made to him on this subject; and after he had said, with some warmth, that he should not conceal any thing, which he recollected, or words to that effect; he was called out to receive from Mr. Willing the copy of an address, which was to be presented to him the next day by the merchants. While he was out of the room, I asked, how the President came by Mr. Fauchet's letter. Mr. Wolcott said, "The President will, I presume, explain that to you." Upon the return of the President, he desired me to step into another room, while he should

should converse with Messrs. Wolcott and Pickering upon what I had said. I retired; and on revolving the subject, I came to this conclusion; that if the President had not been worked up to prejudice the case, he would not have acted in a manner, so precipitate in itself, and so injurious and humiliating to me: and that he would in the first instance, have interrogated me in private. After an absence of about three quarters of an hour, I returned into the President's room; when he told me that as I wished to put my remarks on paper, he desired that I would. I replied, that it should be done; but that I did not expect to remember much of the detail; for, in fact, I had then no distinct conception of what No. 3, and No. 6, might contain; except that it would seem from the inference in No. 10, as if I had encouraged the insurrection. The President then asked me, how soon I could finish my remarks, I answered, as soon as possible. But I declared to him at the same instant, that I would not continue in the office one second after such treatment. I accordingly wrote to him the following letter."

" Philadelphia, Aug. 19, 1795.

" SIR,

"IMMEDIATELY upon leaving your house this morning, I went to the office for the department of state, where I directed the room, in which I usually sat, to be locked up, and the key to remain with the messenger. My object in this was to let all the papers rest, as they stood.

" Upon my return home, I reflected calmly and maturely upon the proceedings of this morning. Two facts immediately presented themselves; one of which was, that my usual hour of calling upon the President had not only been postponed for the oppor-

opportunity of consulting *others* upon a letter of a foreign minister, highly interesting to my honour, before the smallest intimation to me; but they seemed also to be perfectly acquainted with its contents, and were requested to ask questions for their satisfaction: The other was, that I was desired to retire into another room, until you should converse with them, upon what I had said.

“Your confidence in me, Sir, has been unlimited; and, I can truly affirm, unabused. My sensations then cannot be concealed, when I find that confidence so immediately withdrawn without a word or distant hint being previously dropped to me! This, Sir, as I mentioned in your room, is a situation in which I cannot hold my present office, and therefore I hereby resign it.

“It will not, however, be concluded from hence, that I mean to relinquish the inquiry. No, Sir; far from it. I will also meet any inquiry, and to prepare for it, if I learn this morning, that there is a chance of overtaking Mr. Fauchet before he sails, I will go to him immediately.

“I have to beg the favour of you to permit me to be furnished with a copy of the letter; and I will prepare an answer to it; which I perceive that I cannot do, as I wish, merely upon the few hasty memoranda which I took with my pencil.

“I am satisfied, Sir, that you will acknowledge one piece of justice due on this occasion, which is, that until an inquiry can be made, the affair shall continue in secrecy under your injunction, after pledging myself for a more specific investigation of all these suggestions. For I here most solemnly deny, that any overture ever came from me, which was to produce money to me, or any others for me; and that in any manner, directly or indirectly, was a shilling ever received by me; nor was it ever contemplated by me, that one shilling should be applied

applied by Mr. Fauchet to any purpose relative to the insurrection.

“ I presume, Sir, that the paper, No. 6, to which he refers, is not in your possession. Otherwise you would have shewn it to me. If I am mistaken, I cannot doubt, that you will suffer me to have a copy of it.

“ I shall pass my accounts at the Auditor's and Comptroller's office ; and transmit to you a copy.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Sir, with due respect,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ EDM. RANDOLPH.”

“ The President of the U. S.”

To the preceding Letter I received this Answer.

“ To Edmund Randolph, Esq.

“ Sir,

“ Your resignation of the Office of State is received.

“ Candour induces me to give you, in a few words, the following narrative of facts.—The letter from Mr. Fauchet, with the contents of which you were made acquainted yesterday, was, as you supposed, an intercepted one.—It was sent by Lord Grenville to Mr. Hammond ;—by him put into the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury ;—by him shewn to the Secretary of War and the Attorney General ;—and a translation thereof was made by the former, for me.—

“ At the time Mr. Hammond delivered the letter, he requested of Mr. Wolcott an attested copy, which was accordingly made by Mr. Thornton, his late secretary ; and which is understood to remain

at present with Mr. Bond.—Whether it is known to others, I am unable to decide.—

“ Whilst you are in pursuit of means to remove the strong suspicions arising from his letter, no disclosure of its contents will be made by me ; and I will enjoin the same on the public officers who are acquainted with the purport of it ; unless something shall appear to render an explanation necessary on the part of government ;—of which I will be the judge.—

“ A copy of Mr. Fauchet's letter shall be sent to you.—No. 6, referred to therein, I have never seen.—

“ G. WASHINGTON.”

“ Philadelphia, 20th Aug. 1795.”

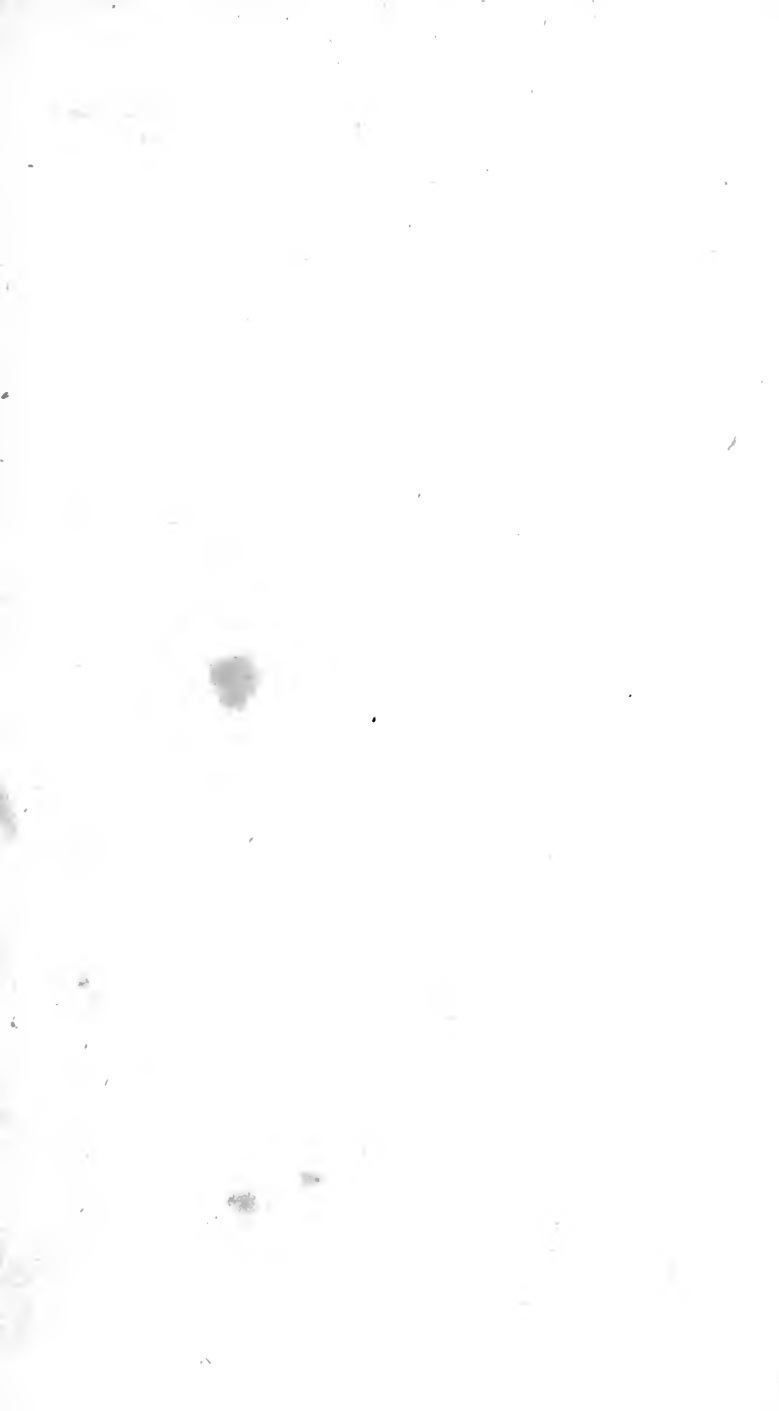
The wretched corrupted creature, Randolph, departed, soon after the date of his letter, for Rhode-Island, where he found Fauchet, and where, after a deal of consultation, they trumped up a story, that only tended to establish the truth of the dispatches, and the guilt of the Secretary, who had, nevertheless, the impudence to publish, in December, what he called his *vindication*, and who was suffered to retire to Virginia without punishment.

This was a remarkable instance of that *virtue*, which the sententious Montesquieu represents as the characteristic of *republican* government. Under no government but a republican one would a crime like that of Randolph's have been committed with impunity. And, yet have the Americans the audacity to talk of the purity of their principles ! and, what is more astonishing, the silly world seems content to be their dupe.

End of Randolph's Vindication.

A
NEW YEAR'S GIFT
TO THE
DEMOCRATS;
OR
OBSERVATIONS
ON
A PAMPHLET,
ENTITLED,
" A VINDICATION
OF
Mr. RANDOLPH's RESIGNATION."

" For *gold* defiles by frequent touch ;
" There's nothing fouls the hand so much.
" But as his paws *he strove to scour*,
" He washed away the chemic power ;
" And *Midas* now neglected stands,
" With *asses ears* and *dirty hands*."



P R E F A C E.

THE Democrats and I have long been in the friendly habit of making presents to each other; and, this being a season of the year when an interchange of civilities of this kind is more particularly looked for, I was just turning about me for a subject that might serve as some little mark of my attention, when the vindication of Mr. Randolph's resignation made its long-looked-for appearance.

If the reader knows any thing of the Democrats, he will allow, that this vindication is most eminently calculated to furnish me with the means of making them a grateful offering: and I was the more anxious to be prompt in the performance of this duty of etiquette, as, from their present formidable situation, it was to be feared, that they might have the will as well as the power to turn their vengeance against me, in case of the slightest neglect.

When we take a view of their affairs for a year past, it is impossible not to perceive that they are wonderfully improved. They have had address sufficient to stir up the mob to burn the greatest part of the Federal Senators in effigy; they have dared publicly and vilely to traduce the President of the United States; their own President has been elected a member of the legislature of Pennsyl-

vania ; the legislature of Virginia has declared in their favour ; and a fresh importation of thieves and traitors from Ireland are daily expected to arrive. These are great and solid advantages, and when we add to them the “ *precious confesssions,*” which they may, by the help of “ *some thousands of dollars,*” be able to draw from their new and communicative brother, we cannot help regarding their club as the rising sun of this country.

To this great luminary, then, I kneel ; not to ask a boon, but to offer one ; and such a one as I hope will be acceptable, as its great object is to commemorate actions flowing from the purest principles of democracy.

PHILADELPHIA, January 1, 1796.

A

NEW YEAR'S GIFT.

AMONG the means employed by the anarchical assemblies of France, in the propagation of their detestible principles, that of corruption may be regarded as one of the most powerful, and, accordingly, it has ever shared a principal part of their attention. If we take a survey of their confiscations, proscriptions and assassinations, from the seizure of the property of the ecclesiastics, by the Constituent Assembly, down to the horrid butcheries of Carrier, we shall find that this has often been a leading motive for the perpetrating of those deeds, which will blacken the French name as long as honesty and humanity shall be esteemed amongst men. It is, at least, an object of which they have never lost sight, and which they have spared nothing to accomplish. They have ransacked the coffers of the rich, stripped poverty of its very rags, robbed the infant of its birth-right, wrenched the crutch from the hand of tottering old age, and, joining sacrilege to burglary, have plundered even the altars of God, in order to possess themselves of the means of corrupting degenerate foreigners.

That their plans of seduction have been but too successful they themselves avow. Like the gang of highwaymen in the subterraneous cave, each mounts the polluted tribune in his turn, and tells his tale of corruption. According to their own acknowledgements, they have expended millions upon millions in this commerce of consciences, since they have called their country a Republic; and, which is well worthy of remark, these immense sums have all been expended, with a trifling exception, in the Republican States that have condescended to fraternize with them. The patriots of Geneva and Holland, of Genoa and Switzerland, have been bought with the treasures extorted from the unhappy French. The two former states are, in every political point of view, annihilated, and the two latter exist as a proof, that states as well as individuals may sometimes triumph in successful baseness and vanity.*

The people of the United States of America had not the mortification to see their country included in the dark catalogue; and, though it was evident to every discerning man, that some such influence began to prevail, in different parts of the Union, soon after the arrival of citizen Genet; though it was impossible to account for the foundation of the democratic clubs, and for the countenance they received from many persons of weight and authority (particularly in the State of Pennsylvania, where the Secretary of the State was at the head of the mother club) upon any other principle; though people were daily seen acting in direct opposition to their apparent interests; and though the partizans

* This was written before the revolutions either in Genoa or in Switzerland were heard of in America.

zans of France did not hesitate openly to declare their enmity to the President of the United States and to the government he had been chosen to administer; notwithstanding all these striking and well-known facts, the great body of the people would have regarded any one as a slanderer of their national character, who should have insinuated, that the secrets of their government, and their most important interests, were the price of that sudden exaltation that every where appeared among the persons devoted to the will of the French minister. The people might have remained in this delusive confidence, till their constitution had been subverted, and till they had been plunged into a calamitous foreign war, or driven to the dire necessity of shedding each other's blood, had it not been for the accidental interception of the letter, that has led to the *vindication* on which I have here undertaken to make a few observations.

Before I enter on the vindication itself, two circumstances present themselves as subjects of preliminary observation: the *time*, and the *manner*, of its being introduced to the public.

Mr. Randolph informs us, that he gave in his resignation on the 19th of August, in consequence of his having been interrogated on the contents of an intercepted letter of the French minister, citizen Fauchet; and we all know, that his vindication, if vindication it must be, did not appear till the 18th of December; a space of exactly four months, wanting one day. When he had given in his resignation, he did not remain at Philadelphia to court the inquiry that he talks so much of, but flew away to Rhod-island, in order to overtake Mr. Fauchet, by whose very letter he stood accused, and to obtain from him a certificate of his *innocence* and *morality*. We shall see by and by how he was employed

employed during his stay at Rhode-Island ; at present we must follow him back to Philadelphia, where we find him arrived on the 21st of September, thirty-three days after his departure, and writing to the President of the United States, to inform him, that he is preparing his vindication with all imaginable dispatch ; and of this he had taken care to inform the public several days before. After this notification, it was impossible that the people should not hourly expect to see, *in the public papers*, an elucidation of the whole affair. What then must be their astonishment, when after having waited with the utmost impatience for three long weeks, they were given to understand, that the boasting vindicator could not close his laborious performance, without having access to certain other papers of a confidential nature ? The request for these papers, all evasive and malicious as it was, was at once granted by the President. This pretended obstacle being removed, one would have imagined that shame would have prevented him from framing further delays ; but, alas ! shame has but little power, when honour has deserted the breast.

Two months longer was the publication put off, and we now find it to contain no more original matter than any man, accustomed to writing, would have prepared for the press in the space of six or seven days at most. That the vindicator has not amused himself in polishing his style, every one will allow that reads him. Besides, a man, whose reputation is suspended, and who is conscious of his innocence, does not waste his precious time in the pointing of a thought, or the rounding of a period. Truth needs no embellishment.

The vindicator's motives for this delay are not difficult to be divined. He wanted time to spread reports to the prejudice of the President, and to prepare the minds of the people in his own favour :
hence

hence the idle tales of a British faction, and hence the pitiful pleadings of the *calm observer*. It was probable, too, that, by delaying the publication till after the meeting of Congress, it might be brought out at a moment when some decision of that body, respecting the treaty, might irritate the feelings of the people against the President's conduct; and, by directing their attention to that part of the vindication intended to criminate him, might turn the shaft of their censure from the vindicator himself. Besides, Mr. Randolph had not been so assiduous a studier of the temper of the multitude (for the multitude was all he could hope to deceive) to be ignorant, that their minds, after being kept so long on the stretch, would begin to relax; and that indifference would succeed to curiosity. In short, independent of every other consideration, to gain time, we may well suppose, was with him a capital object. To this he was led by the motive common to all men in his situation: every one endeavours to put off the evil hour; and he justly regarded the hour of the appearance of his vindication, as that in which he would be swung off into eternal ignominy.

However, whether any or all of these motives were the real cause of the procrastination, or not, is a matter of great indifference; I defy any one to account for it in a way compatible with his honour. He knew that he stood accused of a most heinous offence against his country, and had he been confident, nay had he hoped, that he was in possession of the testimony of his innocence, he never would have withheld it so long.

Nor shall we find, that the *manner* of his introducing his vindication to the public speaks more in his favour.

In this letter of resignation, he says to the President: "I am satisfied, Sir, that you will acknowledge

"ledge

“ledge one piece of justice on this occasion, which
“is, that until an inquiry can be made, *the affair*
“*shall continue in secrecy under your injunction.*”
But after his return from Rhode-Island, knowing
that the President could not lay an injunction for
the time past, and knowing also, that a copy of the
dreadful dispatch was in the hands of Mr. Bond,
on whom the President could lay no injunction at
all, he suspected the affair had got abroad, which
was, indeed, the case; it was then, and not be-
fore, that, making a virtue of necessity, he inform-
ed the public, by publishing a letter he had written
to the President, that he would prepare a vindica-
tion of his conduct.

After this he suffered the matter to rest for some
time, and then published an extract from another
letter to the President, dated the 8th of October, in
the following words: “You must be sensible, Sir,
“that I am inevitably driven into the discussion of
“many confidential and delicate points. I could
“with safety immediately appeal to the people of
“the United States, who can be of no party. But
“I shall wait for your answer to this letter, so far
“as it respects the paper desired, before I forward
“to you my general letter, which is delayed for no
“other cause. I shall also rely that you will con-
“sent to the whole of this affair, howsoever confi-
“dential and delicate, being exhibited to the
“world.—At the same time I prescribe to my-
“self this condition, not to mingle any thing
“which I do not sincerely conceive to belong to
“the subject.”

By this stroke our vindicator imagined, he had
reduced the President to a dilemma, from which
he would be unable to extricate him. He thought
that the President's circumspect disposition would
lead him to refuse the communication of the paper
demanded;

demand; and, in that case, he would have impressed to the public mind an idea of its containing something, at once capable of acquitting himself, and of criminating the President. And, should the paper be granted, he hoped that he should be able to make such comments on it, as would, at least, render the chief of the executive as odious as himself.

The President did not balance a moment on the course he should take. "It is not difficult," says he in the answer, "to perceive what your objects are; but that you may have no cause to complain of the withholding any paper (however private and confidential,) which you shall think necessary in a case of so serious a nature, I have directed that you should have the inspection of my letter of the 22d of July, agreeably to your request: and you are at full liberty to publish, without reserve, *any* and *every* private and confidential letter I ever wrote you; nay more, every word I ever uttered to or in your presence, from whence you can derive any advantage in your justification."

I am sorry that the bounds, within which I propose to confine myself, do not permit me to give the reader the whole of this noble letter; here, however, is sufficient to prove the generous deportment of the writer. These extracts most eminently depict the minds of the parties: in one, we hear the bold, the undaunted language of conscious integrity, and, in the other, the faltering accents of guilt.

Baffled in this project of recrimination, the vindicator had recourse to others, if possible, still more unmanly. A paragraph appeared in the public papers, as extracted from a Carolina gazette, telling us a shocking tale about Mr. Randolph having been ill-treated by the President, who had been worked up by a wicked British faction to accuse him
(from

(from something that had been discovered by an intercepted letter to Mr. Fauchet) of *having his price*, and that, in consequence, poor Mr. Randolph had been *sacrificed*, merely because he had advised the President not to sign the treaty with Great Britain. This simpleton of a story concluded with some patriotic reflections on the formidableness of the British faction, and the great danger of acting contrary to their will and pleasure.

After an infinity of other subterfuges and precautions, the vindication itself comes forth ; not in the face of the day, like the honest, innocent man from his peaceful dwelling ; but like the thief from his hiding place, preceded by his skulking precursors. These numerous tricks and artifices have, however, all failed : the public has had the candour to prejudge nothing : the thunder has been reserved for the day of judgment.

Should the vindicator be able to find some quibble to excuse these preliminary manœuvres, how will he justify the *sale* of his pretended vindication ? If it be not necessary to the justification of his conduct, while in the service of the public, why is it published ? and, if it be, how dares he attempt to make them pay for it ? He every where boasts of his pure republicanism, and fawningly courts the favour of the people, by calling on them to judge between him and his patron, the President. He pretends to have held his office from them, though every one knows that he held it from the President, at whose pleasure he was removeable, and to whom alone he was, in this case accountable. But, allow him to hold his office from the people, it is to them he owes an account of his behaviour therein, and that *gratis*, too.

It has been asserted, by him, or by his printer (it is of little consequence which), that he is to derive no pecuniary advantage from the *sale*. But, what

what is this to the purchaser? If he is obliged to pay two shillings and nine-pence three farthings for the vindication, where is the difference to him, whether Mr. Randolph or Mr. Smith pockets the money? Should it appear, at last, that the vindicator is to share in the profits of the work, he will have the honour of introducing an improvement into the art of vindicating: men have often been known to barter their reputations; but to derive profit from a public sale of the proofs of their having done so, is as yet without an instance on the annals of corruption. I will not, however, profess to believe that this is the case; many reasons render it improbable. No; his grand object here, as every where else, was to narrow the circulation of the evidence against him. He has so managed it as not only to make the public pay for what they had a right to demand information of without payment, but, by confining the copy-right to his friend Smith, he has reserved to himself the power of limiting the number of copies; and, it is very probable, that the vindication may be out of print in less than a month. Special care has been taken to place at the head of the book the instrument by which all others are forbidden to print it, and an extract from the act of Congress, made “for the encouragement of *learning*, by securing the copies, “&c.” This is a fair menace; as if he had said: *Here is my vindication; but if any one dares to republish it, I will prosecute him according to law.*—God of republicanism! if there be such a deity, could it ever be imagined, that a law made in a country that seems to be the receptacle of all the patriots upon the face of the earth, for the express purpose of encouraging learning, and enlightening the people, would have been made a handle of to keep them in darkness and ignorance, concerning crimes

crimes of the most momentous nature, imputed to those who pretend to glory in being called public servants !

Had Mr. Randolph been sincere in his desire to appeal to the people, he would have endeavoured to make that appeal as general as possible ; and what, I ask, would have presented itself to him as the most likely means of effecting this ? Would he not have sent a copy of it to a printer of a gazette, requesting at the same time all the other printers of gazettes, in the United States, to republish it ? This was the method practised with respect to the British depredations, and all the other little spiteful stories of the same sort, and we know that it has ever met with the wished-for success. Why was it not, then adopted on the present occasion ? Mr. Randolph's friends say (for, astonishing as it may seem, friends he has) that, by a newspaper publication, it would have appeared in a mutilated, incomplete state. To this I reply ; that, had he sent his copy to his gazetteer, Mr. Brown, we should had every line of it in the Philadelphia Gazette at one time ; or, at least, we should have had a right to expect it ; for, the trial of *Hardy*, which my old friend Brown published about a year ago, to prove to us that the British government was just that minute going to pieces like an old crazy hulk, contained much more matter than the work of our vindicator. It is very true, that Mr. Brown might not have imagined that *his customers* were so nearly interested in the *precious confessions* of the ex-secretary of State as in the fate of a seditious cobbler at London ; more especially as the former might not be thought extremely honourable to republicanism : yet, there can be but little doubt but he would have complied ; for, as to the reputation of his paper it could be in no danger even from the insertion of the
vindication,

vindication, after the nonsense, the falsehoods, the blasphemies, and the bawdry of which it has too long been the vehicle. By only sending it, then, to the press of this industrious, vulgar, and voluminous *quid-nunc*, two or three thousand copies of it would have been distributed through the dark lanes and allies of Philadelphia in the space of forty-eight hours: we should have met with it in every direction, and in every shape that inanimate nature can assume: not a garret, nor a reeking stove-hole, would have been without a copy, the windows of Paddy's filthy cabin, and even the crannies of citizen Pompey's hovel, might have exhibited as clear and undeniable proofs of Mr. Randolph's innocence as the French archives.

This would have been the way for the vindicator to throw himself on the sovereign people indeed. But, instead of this, what has he done? He has barricaded himself in by an act of Congress, and forbidden his sovereigns to approach him without money in their hands. Ye gods! is he ever to have his price? is he ever to be purchased? And yet this is the man who pretends to be the friend of *pure republicanism*, and the advocate for the sovereignty of the people! "Without further enumeration," says he, "of reasons for an appeal to the *people*, to whom else ought I to appeal? If the stories which have been propagated be true, it is *their* honour which has been wounded." By the by, I do not believe this last assertion, and I should be glad to hear how he makes it out; how he has contrived to shift the dishonour from himself to the people: but if it be so, why not appeal to them? Why hide his *precious confessions* from their sight? Why attempt to keep them in the dark imposing a tax on their curiosity and inquiries? Civilians have long been divided as to the precise import of the word *people*; this question is now resolved by the

rules of arithmetic, and that to a fraction, as far at least as relates to the United States : the people, are all those who are able and willing to give Mr. Randolph, or his printer, two shillings and nine pence three farthings good and lawful money of Pennsylvania ! *O Respublica ! O Mores !*

Having dismissed these circumstances, which though but trifles, if compared with many others that we shall meet with, were too glaring to pass unnoticed, I now come to the Vindication itself.

Mr. Randolph begins by a "statement of facts," and in this I shall imitate him ; but as to the manner of doing this we shall differ widely. He has endeavoured to lose us in a maze of letters and answers, and extracts and conversations, and notes and memorials, and certificates ; but, as it is not my intention to render what I have to say unintelligible, not weary my readers patience with a round about story, I shall endeavour to be as concise as possible, consistent with perspicuity.

On the 31st of October, 1794, citizen Fauchet, the then French minister at Philadelphia, dispatched a letter to the committee of the government in France, informing them among other things, of the rise and progress of the insurrection in the Western counties of Pennsylvania. This letter was put on board the *Jean Bart*, a French corvette, which sailed directly afterwards for France, and, on her passage, took an English merchant vessel. When the corvette arrived in the British channel, she was brought to by a frigate of the enemy. As soon as the commander of the former saw that it was impossible to escape, he brought the dispatches, and citizen Fauchet's letter among the rest, upon the deck and threw them over board. But unfortunately for Mr. Randolph, and some other patriots that we shall see mentioned by and by, there was a man

on

on board who had the presence of mind and the courage to jump into the sea and save them. The reader will not be astonished at this heroic act, at this proof of unfeigned and *unbought* patriotism, when I tell him that the man was no *sans-culotte citizen*, but a British Tar. It was indeed, no other than the captain of the English vessel that the corvette had taken on her passage. This good fellow and the dispatches he had so gallantly preserved, were taken up by the frigate's boat; the dispatches were, of course, sent to the British government, by whom citizen Fauchet's letter was, through Mr. Hammond, communicated to the President of the United States. The President shewed it to Mr. Randolph, desiring him to make such explanations as he chose; and Mr. Randolph tells us, that it was in consequence of what passed at this interview that he gave in the resignation, of which he has since published a vindication.

Although this extraordinary performance is called "A Vindication of Mr. Randolph's *Resignation*," people naturally look upon it as an attempt to vindicate his *conduct*, previous to that resignation. Few persons, I will take it upon me to say, thought an apology for quitting his post necessary. Those who had read his bungling correspondencies, never imagined him to be the Atlas of the state. It was not, then, his resignation that excited public anxiety or public curiosity, but a certain something between him and citizen Fauchet. The people had heard about corruption, about thousands of dollars, and about the pretended patriots of America having their prices; these were the points the people wanted to see cleared up. They could not conceive that exposing to the whole world, and consequently to the enemies of this country, their President's private letters of July, 1795, relative to

the treaty, could possibly tend to invalidate the charges of treason, contained in the French minister's letter, written in the month of October, 1794. But Mr. Randolph, it appears, saw the matter in another light. He has thought proper to attempt to balance the crime laid to his charge, against another supposed crime, which he imputes to the President, concerning the ratification of the treaty.

Hence it follows, that the vindicator labours at two principal objects: to wash away the stain on his own reputation, and to represent the President of the United States as ratifying the treaty under the influence of a British faction. That the latter of these can, as I have already observed, have no sort of relation to the great and important point, towards which the public mind has been so long directed, it is very manifest; nevertheless, since it has been forced upon us, it would look like flinching from the inquiry to pass it over in silence. I shall therefore, after having observed on that part of the vindication which comprehends what ought to have been its only object, endeavour to place in as fair a light as possible the indirect charge that is brought against the President.

From citizen Fauchet's intercepted letter it appears, that Mr. Randolph did betray to him the secrets of the American government, and make him overtures for money, to be applied to some purpose relative to the insurrection in the Western counties of Pennsylvania.

The first of these is fully set forth in the very first paragraph of the letter, which runs thus:
 " The measures which prudence prescribes to me
 " to take with respect to my colleagues, have still
 " presided in the digesting of the dispatches signed
 " by them, which treat of the insurrection of the
 " Western counties, and of the repressive means
 " adopted by the government. I have allowed
 " them

“ them to be confined to the giving of a faithful,
 “ but naked recital of events, the reflections therein
 “ contained scarcely exceed the conclusions easily
 “ deducible from the character assumed by the
 “ public prints. I have reserved myself to give
 “ you as far as I am able, a key to the facts de-
 “ tailed in our reports. When it comes in question
 “ to explain either by conjectures or by certain
 “ data, *the secret views of a foreign government*, it
 “ would be imprudent to run the risk of indiscre-
 “ tions, and to give oneself up to men, whose
 “ known *partiality for that government*, and simi-
 “ litude of passions and interests with its chiefs,
 “ might lead to confidencies, the issue of which
 “ are incalculable. Besides the *previous confessions*
 “ *of Mr. Randolph* alone throw a satisfactory light
 “ on every thing that comes to pass. These I have
 “ not yet communicated to my colleagues. The
 “ motives already mentioned lead to this reserve,
 “ and still less permit me to open myself to them at
 “ the present moment. I shall then endeavour,
 “ citizen, to give you a clue to all the measures,
 “ of which the common dispatches give you an
 “ account, and to discover the true causes of the
 “ explosion, which it is obstinately resolved to re-
 “ press with great means although the state of
 “ things has no longer any thing alarming.” Not-
 withstanding the unequivocal expressions contained
 in this paragraph, the Vindicator has endeavoured
 at a satisfactory explanation of it, and so confident
 does he pretend to be of having succeeded, that he
 says: “ I hesitate not to pronounce, that he who
 “ feels a due abhorrence of party manœuvres, will
 “ form a conclusion honourable to myself.” Let
 us see, then, how he has extricated himself; what
 proof or what argument, he has produced to wipe
 away the stigma, and to warrant the confidence

with which he expresses himself of the people's forming a conclusion to his honour.

The phrase of the first paragraph of Citizen Fauchet's letter, which more immediately attracts our attention, is the "*precious confessions* of Mr. Randolph." These words the Vindicator has taken a deal of pains to explain away, and with his usual success. He begins by saying, that, "this observation upon
" the *precious confessions* of Mr. Randolph, involves the *judicious management of the office*. It
" implies no deliberate impropriety, and *cannot be*
" *particularly answered*, until particular instances
" are cited." I see nothing here from which we are to form a conclusion to his honour; nor did he, it seems; for he immediately throws the task on Citizen Fauchet's *certificate*. This extra diplomatic instrument was obtained by the famous journey to Rhode-Island, under what circumstances we shall see by-and-by; at present let us hear what Citizen Fauchet says in it. "As to the communications
" which he (Mr. Randolph) has made to me at
" different times, they were only of *opinions*, the
" greater part, if not the whole of which I have
" heard *circulated as opinions*.—I will observe here,
" that none of his conversations with me concluded
" without his giving me the idea, that the President was a man of integrity, and a sincere friend
" to France. This explains *in part* (well put in)
" what I meant by the terms, his *precious confessions*.
" —When I speak in the same paragraph in these
" words; "Besides the precious confessions of Mr.
" Randolph alone cast upon all which happens a
" satisfactory light," I have still in view only the explanations of which I have spoken above; and
" I must confess that very often I have taken for
" *confessions*, what he *might have* communicated to
" me by virtue of a secret authority. And many
" things which I had, at the first instant, considered

“ as *confessions*, were the *subject* of public conversation.”

Without admitting, even for a single moment, the validity of the evidence of this certificate, we may be permitted to admire its effrontery. *Precious confessions* are here explained to signify *opinions*, and opinions, too, that were the *subject of public conversation*! Oh! monstrous! Oh! front of ten-fold brass! Were we to give credit to what Citizen Fauchet has endeavoured to palm upon us in this certificate, we must conclude him to be either drunk or mad at the time of writing the paragraph which he thus explains, and the rest of his letter by no means authorizes such a conclusion. What idea do the words *precious confessions* convey to our minds? What is a confession? An *acknowledgement* which some one is *prevailed on* to make. And in what sense do we ever apply the epithet *precious*, but in that of *valuable, rare, costly or dear*? Would any man, that knows the meaning of these words, apply them to designate the common chat of a town, mere news-paper topics? We say, for instance, *precious stones*; but do we mean by these the rocks that we see cover the lands, or the flints and pebbles that we kick along the road? If some impudent quack were to tell us, that the pavement of Philadelphia is composed of *precious stones*, should we not hurl them at his head; should we not lapidate him.

But, let us see in what sense Citizen Fauchet employs the same word *precious*, in another place, even in the very certificate where he endeavours to explain it to mean nothing.—After speaking of the *secret* machinations of Mr. Hammond, the conspirations of the English, and their being at the bottom of the Western insurrection, he comes to the means that Mr. Randolph had proposed to get at their *secrets*, and says: “I was astonished that

“ the government itself did not procure for itself “ *information so precious.*” Here, then, *precious* signifies *secret*. This *information so precious*, was *rare* information ; information *not to be come at without a bribe*. This phrase fallen from the pen of Citizen Fauchet, while his invention was upon the rack, to explain away another charge against the moral Mr. Randolph, fully proves in what sense he had ever used the word *precious*.

However, we should be very far from doing justice to these “ *precious confessions of Mr. Randolph*”, by considering them in their naked, independent sense. It is very rarely that the true meaning of any phrase, or even of a complete sentence is to be come at without taking in the context. That these *precious confessions* were neither so trifling nor of so public a nature, as the citizen would make us believe, is clear from the tenor of the whole first paragraph above transcribed, which Mr. Randolph forgot to beg his friend to explain. After having mentioned the precious confessions of Mr. Randolph, “ *these*,” says he, “ I have not yet communicated “ to my colleagues.” And why ?—“ Because,” adds he, “ *the motives, already mentioned*, lead to this “ *reserve*, and still less permit me to open myself to “ them at the present moment.” How is this, then ? Why was this cautious *reserve* necessary, even towards his colleagues of the legation, if there was nothing to communicate but mere “ *opinions*,” that were “ *the subject of public conversation* ?” What an over-and-above close man this must have been ! Would to God, Mr. Randolph had been as close ! But what were these “ motives already mentioned ?” We must consult the paragraph again here. The citizen, after stating that he allowed the dispatches, signed by his colleagues, to be confined to a naked recital of events, *scarcely exceeding* what might be gathered from the news-papers, ob-
serves,

serves, that he has reserved to himself the task of giving a key to these joint reports, and adds: when it comes in "question to explain the *secret views* of " a foreign government, it would be imprudent to " *give oneself up* to men, whose known *partiality for* " *that government*, and similitude of passions, and " interests with its chiefs, might lead to *confiden-* " *cies*, the issue of which is incalculable."—Here we have the motives that prevented Citizen Fauchet from communicating the precious confessions to his colleagues. Ordinary information, *hardly exceeding* what was to be learnt from the gazettes, he suffered them to participate; but as to the *secret views* of the government, and the *precious confessions of Mr. Randolph*, he kept them in his own breast; because his colleagues were men "who had a known *partiality for the government*, and a similitude of passions " and interests with its chiefs!" This reason for not trusting the colleagues of Citizen Fauchet, is corroborated by a sentence of Mr. Randolph himself, who certainly forgot what he was about when he wrote it. "Two persons," says he, "were in " commission with Mr. Fauchet, and it was sus- " pected, *from a quarter in which I confided*, that " these persons were in a political *intimacy with* " *members of our government*, not friendly to me." I am sure the reader will agree with me, that this was a reason, and a substantial one too, for not communicating to them the precious confessions of Mr. Randolph, if those confessions went to expose the secret views of the government; but, if, on the contrary, they went no further than "*opinions*," that were "*the subject of public conversation*," the precaution was perfectly ridiculous. It was like the secret of the idiot, who, whispering a by-stander, told him the sun shined, but begged him to let it go no further.

In short all the parts of this account correspond so exactly, that they only want to amount to a proof of innocence instead of guilt, to render them a subject of pleasing contemplation. Citizen Fauchet receives certain *precious confessions* from Mr. Randolph, which he keeps from his colleagues, because they have a *partiality for the government*, and because, from their intimacy with some of the members of it, they might make dangerous discoveries. The inevitable conclusion, then, is, that these *precious confessions* were not of opinions, that were the *subject of public conversation*, and that they were of a nature *hostile to the government*; and whether this be "a conclusion honourable" to Mr. Randolph, or not, I leave the reader to determine.

Citizen Fauchet, in that part of his certificate which I have above quoted, makes an indirect attempt to establish a belief, that Mr. Randolph, in his confessions, never uttered any thing to the prejudice of the character of the President of the United States. This is his aim, when he says that, "none of his conversations concluded without giving the idea, that the President was a man of integrity." But, we are to observe, that the certificate was originally intended for the perusal of the President. Who could tell how far such a declaration, if it should be believed, might go towards making Mr. Randolph's peace? It has never yet appeared, that he was in earnest about a *public vindication*, till after his return from Rhode-Island: that is, till he saw that it was absolutely impossible to smother the affair. To have brought this declaration into the certificate with any other view than that of softening the President, would have been pure folly. The President being a man of incorruptible integrity, was surely no precious confession; on the contrary, I am mistaken if it was not among the most disagreeable information that Citizen Fauchet

chet ever received from his friend, the Secretary. If this certificate had, then, been intended for the public, to what purpose was the declaration concerning the President thrust into it? Did the framer, or rather framers of it, imagine; nay, could they possibly imagine, that Mr. Randolph would acquire favour with the people for having declared that the man he now attempts to blacken, the man he now represents as under the guidance of a British faction, is a man of incorruptible integrity? The President's character stood in no need of the eulogy of Mr. Randolph, or the certificate of a mushroom French minister. The people of the United States knew General Washington to be a man of integrity, long before Citizen Fauchet was called from among a troop of itinerant play-actors, to strut on the diplomatic stage of the new-fangled Republic*.

The desperate vindicator makes one struggle more. He endeavours to back the evidence of Citizen Fauchet's certificate with a protestation of his own, in which he denies ever having received a farthing for the communication of state-secrets; says that he never communicated any such secrets; that he never uttered a syllable which violated the duties of office; all which, adds he, "I *assert*, and to "the assertion, I am ready to superadd the most "solemn sanction." I shall not throw away my time in attempting to invalidate this kind of testimony. There was a time when the *solemn sanction*,

* Whether the Citizen formerly paid his addresses to *Thalia* or *Melpomenc*, I know not; whether he has wielded the dagger or worn the mask on the grand theatre of the revolution (which has brought forth such eminent talents in both walks), is also unknown to me; I should, however, from his behaviour in this country, be led to imagine, that the mask has ever been his favourite.

or even bare *assertion*, of Mr. Randolph, might have been formidable; but that time is, alas! no more.

We now come to the *overtures for money*, to be applied to some purpose relative to the insurrection in the Western counties of Pennsylvania.

Citizen Fauchet, in the 15th paragraph of the fatal letter, had been speaking of the assembling of the insurgents at Braddock's Field, and of the preparations of the Federal government to reduce them to order and obedience. Then, in the 16th paragraph, he comes to speak of the conduct of certain persons in power, at this momentous crisis. "In the mean time," says he, "although there was a certainty of having an army, yet it was necessary to assure themselves of co-operators among the men whose patriotic reputation might influence their party, and whose lukewarmness or want of energy in the existing conjunctures might compromise the success of the plans. Of all the governors whose duty it was to appear at the head of the requisitions, the *governor of Pennsylvania* alone enjoyed the name of *Republican*; his opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury, and of his systems, was known to be unfavourable. The *Secretary of this State* possessed great influence in the *popular society of Philadelphia*, which in its turn influenced those of other States; of course he merited attention. It appears therefore, that *these men*, with others unknown to me, all having without doubt, Randolph at their head, were *balancing to decide on their party*. Two or three days before the proclamation was published, and of course before the cabinet had resolved on its measures, Mr. Randolph came to me with an air of great eagerness, and made me *the overtures* of which I have given you an account in No. 6. Thus, *with some thousands of dollars*, the Repub-

" lic

“ lic could have decided *on civil war or on peace!*
 “ Thus, the consciences of the pretended patriots
 “ of America have already their prices! It is very
 “ true, that the certainty of these conclusions, pain-
 “ ful to be drawn, will for ever exist in our archi-
 “ ves! What will be the old age of this govern-
 “ ment, if it is thus early decrepid!”

From this paragraph we learn, that certain men of weight and influence were balancing as to the side they should take, at the time of the insurrection; that two or three days before the issuing of the proclamation for the assembling of a military force, to march against the insurgents, Mr. Randolph went to Citizen Fauchet, and made to him certain overtures; and that from the nature of these overtures, Citizen Fauchet concluded, that, if he had had some thousands of dollars at his disposal, he could have decided on civil war, or on peace. From this latter circumstance, it is evident that the overtures were for money, to be applied to some purpose relative to the insurrection; and, therefore, our inquiries (if, indeed, inquiries are at all necessary), are naturally confined to two questions: *who* was to receive this money? and for *what purpose?*

The shortest way of determining the first of these questions, is, to resort to the fair and unequivocal meaning of the paragraph itself. Suppose the following passage of it alone had come to light: “*these*
 “ *men*, with others unknown to me, all having
 “ without doubt, Randolph at their head, *were ba-*
 “ *lancing* to decide on their party. Two or three
 “ days before the proclamation was published, Mr.
 “ Randolph came to me with an air of great eager-
 “ ness, and made to me the overtures, of which I
 “ have given you an account in my No. 6. Thus,
 “ with some thousands of dollars, the Republic
 “ could have determined on civil war, or on peace.”
 Suppose, I say, that of all the letter, this passage
 alone

alone had been found, what should we have wanted to know further?—Why, certainly, *who these men were*. This is what we should have cursed our stars for having kept from us.—Randolph, we should have said, is at the head of them; but who are *these men*?—To whom do these important words refer?—Luckily, Citizen Fauchet's letter leaves us nothing to wish for on this head, these words are relative to "*the governor of Pennsylvania*," the "*Secretary of this State**", and other persons unknown to the writer. *These men*, according to Citizen Fauchet's letter, were with Randolph at their head, balancing to decide on their party; and while they were thus balancing, Mr. Randolph, being the leader, went to Citizen Fauchet, and made him such overtures as would have enabled him, had he had "some thousands of dollars," to decide on civil war, or on peace.

I shall not amuse myself with drawing conclusions here, as I am fully persuaded, that no one, who shall do me the honour of reading these sheets, will find any difficulty in doing it for himself. It is, however necessary to notice what has been advanced with an intention of doing away the impression, that this part of Citizen Fauchet's letter must inevitably leave on our minds, with respect to the persons in whose behalf the money overtures were made.

The reader has observed, that Citizen Fauchet mentions a dispatch, which he calls his No. 6. and to which he refers his government for the particulars of Mr. Randolph's overtures. An *extract* from this No. 6. the Vindicator has obtained from Citi-

* I keep to the very words of the letter; but that, by "this State," is meant the State of Pennsylvania, cannot be doubted, especially when we see that the letter is dated at Philadelphia.

zen Adet, the present French minister, which he has published in his *Vindication*, and which I here insert. " Scarce was the commotion known, when the Secretary of State came to my house. All his countenance was grief. He requested of me a private conversation. It is all over, he said to me. A civil war is about to ravage our unhappy country. *Four men*, by their *talents*, their *influence*, and their *energy*, may save it. But, debtors of English merchants, they will be deprived of their liberty, if they take the smallest step. Could you lend them instantaneously funds, sufficient to shelter them from English prosecution? This inquiry *astonished* me much. It was impossible for me to make a satisfactory answer. You know *my want of power*, and my defect of *pecuniary means*. I shall draw myself off from the affair by some common-place remarks, and by throwing myself on the *pure* and unalterable principles of the Republic."—God of Heaven! what must be the situation of a man, who publishes such a piece as this, in order to weaken the evidence against him!

We should certainly be at full liberty to reject the testimony contained in this extract; not on account of the person who signs it, (though his *not being a Christian* might, with some weak minded people, be a weighty objection), but on account of its being but a *part* of the No. 6. referred to. I do not, however, wish to derive any advantage from this circumstance: I admit the validity of the testimony contained in the extract, and well I may; for, the greatest enemy of Mr. Randolph, and of those who are involved with him, could wish for no better confirmation of the 16th paragraph of Citizen Fauchet's letter.

The only circumstance in which the extract from No. 6. appears to differ from the letter, is, that, in the extract, mention is made of *four men*, and,
in

in the letter, of only *three*. But, let it be observed, that though only three persons are named in the letter, yet Citizen Fauchet adds to them, "others unknown to me."

The next piece of exculpatory evidence produced, is the *certificate* of Citizen Fauchet. But, before we quote this paper again, it is necessary to see how it was obtained.

When Citizen Fauchet's letter was first shewn to Mr. Randolph, in the council-chamber, and he was asked to explain it, he hesitated; desired time to commit his remarks to writing; went to his office, locked up his own apartment there, and gave the key to the messenger; then went home, from whence he wrote to the President, requesting a copy of the letter, and informing him that, if Citizen Fauchet had not quitted the continent, he would go after him, *to prepare himself for an inquiry*.—Was this the behaviour of a man grossly calumniated? Such a man would have said: I see, Sir, by this letter, that I am charged with crimes which my heart abhors; I declare the writer to be an infamous slanderer; but, as appearances are against me, here are the keys of my office, and even of my private papers: examine them all, and I will remain here till the examination is ended. Send also for Citizen Fauchet, if he be yet in the country: bring him here, and let him avow this to my face, if he dares.—I appeal to the reader's breast, whether there is any thing that a man, strong in his integrity, would have so ardently desired, as to be confronted with his accuser; or any thing he would have so obstinately refused, as to be the messenger to seek him? Allowing, however, that a man, falsely accused of such heinous crimes, had, in a paroxysm of rage, quitted the council-chamber to pursue the assassin of his reputation, would he not have instantly departed? Would he have closed his eyes
till

till he came up with him? Would any mortal means of conveyance have been swift enough for his pursuit? And, once arrived, would he not have rushed into his presence? Would not the sight of the perfidious miscreant have almost driven him to madness? Had he found him in the arms of his harlot, or grovelling at the altar of his pagan gods, would he not have dragged him forth to chastisement? The heart that swells with injured innocence, is deaf to the voice of discretion!

How different from all this was the cool and gentle, and genteel deportment of the Vindicator! He stays, very quietly, two days at Philadelphia, before his departure for Rhode-Island, and loiters away no less than *ten days* in performing a journey that the common stages perform in *five*. When he arrives, he goes and has a *tête-à-tête* with Citizen Fauchet, and so mild and so complaisant is he, and so little malice does he bear on account of the wound given to his honour, that he afterwards writes the citizen a note, in which he styles himself his *humble servant*. In consequence of this *tête-à-tête*, in which the citizen and Secretary re-examined the fatal letter, and refreshed each other's memories, a certificate was made out by the former; but not delivered into Mr. Randolph's hands, for fear we should believe that he had penned it, as well as furnished the hints for it, till after his return to Philadelphia, when it was sent to him by Citizen Adet. This *tête-à-tête*, on the unfortunate letter, resembles the consultation of a couple of physicians over a patient gasping in a desperate disease: they at last prescribe a remedy, and, physician like, leave it to be administered by their apothecary.

I pass by the *certificates* of a *tipstaff* and a *pilot*, which were brought in as auxiliaries to that of Citizen Fauchet, and come to the questions that *were to be put*, but which *were not put*, to Citizen Fau-

chet, before Mr. Marchant, a judge of the district of Rhode-Island, and Mr. Malbone, a member of the House of Representatives. This play at question and answer must have been fine sport for Messrs. Marchant and Malbone, who would have had the *dramatis personæ* before their eyes; but, when committed to paper, a perusal of it would have been quite flat and insipid to us. No question, I am positive, would, on this occasion, have drawn truth from the lips of Citizen Fauchet; except, perhaps, the question formerly employed in the Inquisition: for, as to oaths upon the Holy Evangelists, what power could they have had upon the conscience of a man whose creed declares the Bible to be a lie, and who alternately adores the goat, the hog, the dog, the cat, and the jack-ass*?

After these remarks, on the manner in which this certificate, which we are called upon to give credit to, was procured, we may venture to quote it, without running the risk of being misled by its protestations. Let us then hear what it says with respect to the persons in whose behalf the overtures for money were made. “About the month of July
“or August, in the last year, he (Mr. Randolph),
“came to see me (Citizen Fauchet), at my house.

* If the reader has never seen one of the Calendars of the enlightened and regenerated French, it may not be amiss to inform him here, that, in lieu of the Saints whom they placed in their calendar formerly, and to whom they addressed their prayers no longer than four years ago, they have now filled it with brutes, trees, and plants. Each day of the Republican year is consecrated to some one of these their animal and vegetable saints, and it is a circumstance truly singular, that the day, on which Citizen Fauchet was to be cross-examined, is consecrated to *Hemp*.—There is something like fatality in this.—Should any one wish to satisfy himself of the fact, he has only to look in one of the Calendars, printed in France, for the month of *Vendémiaire*, a copy of which I have now before me.

We

“ We had a private conversation of about twenty
 “ minutes. His countenance bespoke distress. He
 “ said to me that he was afraid a civil war would
 “ soon ravage America. I inquired of him what
 “ new information was procured. He said that he
 “ began to believe that in fact the English were fo-
 “ menting the insurrection, and that he did not
 “ doubt, that Mr. Hammond, and his Congress,
 “ would push some measures with respect to the in-
 “ surrection, with an intention of giving embarrass-
 “ ment to the United States. He demanded of me,
 “ if, as my Republic was itself interested in these
 “ manœuvres, I could not by the means of some
 “ correspondents, procure some information of
 “ what was passing. I answered him, that I be-
 “ lieved I could. He replied upon this, that hav-
 “ ing formed many connections, by the means of
 “ flour contracts, *three or four* persons, among the
 “ different *contractors*, might, by *talents, energy,*
 “ and some *influence*, procure the necessary infor-
 “ mation, and save America from a civil war, by
 “ proving that England interfered in the troubles
 “ of the West.” After this, the certificate says,
 that Mr. Randolph stated a doubt, as to the pecu-
 niary affairs of these contractors, and observed,
 that those whom Citizen Fauchet “ *might be able to*
 “ employ, *might perhaps* be debtors of English
 “ merchants; and that, in that case, *might perhaps*
 “ be exposed to be harrassed and arrested; and,
 “ therefore, he asked if the payment of the sums
 “ *due them*, by virtue of the existing contracts,
 “ would not be sufficiently early to render them
 “ independent of British persecution.”

So! here are all “ *these men who were balancing*
 “ *to decide on their party*; these men, who by their
 “ *talents, influence, and energy*, might save the
 “ country!” these men, *who could have decided on*
civil war, or on peace, are, by this barefaced certi-

ificate, turned into industrious, peaceable flour-merchants. This explanation exceeds even the impudence of Lord Peter, who swore that the words *gold lace*, meant a *broom-stick*.

It would now be necessary to turn to Mr. Randolph's own explanation, of what passed between him and Citizen Fauchet, on this occasion, if his account did not perfectly agree with the one here given; with such trifling variation of phraseology excepted, as was requisite to encourage the belief, that both were not the work of the same hand. It does, indeed, appear, that Mr. Randolph imagined in good earnest, that we should yield an implicit confidence to what Citizen Fauchet has said in his certificate; for, he seems to have been anxious about nothing but confirming it with his own protestations, without attempting to do away the charge contained in the intercepted letter. Our inquiries, however, are not thus to be diverted. We are not thus to be fobbed off with an *ex-post-facto* certificate, and the commentaries thereon. How came Mr. Randolph to be of opinion that flour merchants would, above all others, be the persons to unravel the intrigues of Mr. Hammond? He is the first statesman, I believe, that ever thought of employing men of this profession, to dive into the secrets of foreign ministers. And why should he suppose, that the flour-merchants of Citizen Fauchet were in the confidence of the English faction, and that the very ones whom he should choose from amongst them, were debtors, and debtors too, to British merchants? Poor fellows! he would have broken his heart, if they had been "harrassed and arrested," in consequence of their zeal! It was something extraordinary also, that he did not know the law of this country better, than to fear that they might be kept in prison for debt. He will make but a poor solicitor in the courts of *Virginia*, if he does not know

know how to keep a fraudulent debtor out of jail; and it is very probable, that this little slip of the pen may hurt him more, in the opinion of his present neighbours, than his *precious confessions*, or even than his *overtures for money*.

Mr. Randolph pretends that, so far from having made overtures for himself and company, he rejects with horror, the idea of giving a pair of gloves even to these honest flour-men. Citizen Fauchet, it is true, did understand Mr. Randolph, as advising him to obtain intelligence, by assisting with *loans*, those who had contracted with him for flour; but now, calling to mind all the circumstances, he has an *intimate conviction*, that he was mistaken in the propositions of Mr. Randolph, who only asked, if these good people could not be accommodated with the "sums *due them* on their contracts!" Hence, then, they wish to infer, that all was fair and honest; that no such thing as corruption was ever dreamt of. Admit them this, for a moment, and then let them account for the following expressions, which come immediately after the money-overtures, mentioned in the dispatch, No. 6. "This inquiry
" *astonished me much*. It was impossible for me to
" make a *satisfactory answer*. You know my *want*
" of *power*, and my *defect of pecuniary means*. I
" shall *draw myself off from the affair*, by some
" common-place remarks, and by throwing myself
" on the *pure* and unalterable principles of the Re-
" public." Now, why *pure*? Why throw himself
on the *pure principles* of his Republic? How could
the *pure principles* of his Republic forbid him to
yield to a proposal that had nothing *impure* in it?
And, why does he talk of his want of *power*, and of
pecuniary means? Would it not be the height of
stupidity for a man to talk this way, if he was re-
quired to do nothing but to pay three or four

flour-men, "the sums *due them* on their contracts?"

Nor was such a trifling proposal better calculated to awaken in Citizen Fauchet these reflections! "Thus, with some thousands of dollars, the Republic could have decided on civil war, or on peace! "Thus, the *consciences* of the *pretended patriots* of America have already *their prices*! It is very true, that the certainty of these conclusions, *painful to be drawn*, will for ever exist *in our archives*! "What will be the old age of *the government*, if it is thus early *decrepid*!"—Would any man, except a madman or a fool, have made these reflections on a proposal to pay certain merchants, "sums *due them*," and particularly when those sums were to enable them to *serve their country*, by exploring the secret machinations of an hostile power? Mr. Randolph's proposing to come at the secrets of the English minister, by prevailing on Citizen Fauchet to pay the sums due to his contractors, would certainly have excited a laugh in Fauchet: and, if he had thought such a silly proposition worth a mention in his dispatches, he would naturally have said, what a loggerheaded fellow they have chosen for Secretary of State here! Would you imagine, that he has proposed to me, to pay my flour-contractors what I *owe them*, as a mean of inducing them to penetrate into the designs of the English government! The man must certainly be out of his wits, or he never would be foolish enough to suppose, that these people, in gratitude for having received *no more than their due* from me, would be induced to undertake a dangerous and expensive service *for him*. However, the poor man, though a little crack-brained, is a good patriot, and has no other motive in all this than to serve his country.—These would have been the remarks of Citizen Fauchet,

chet, had the overtures been of the nature he now pretends they were. He would have had all the reason in the world to accuse the Secretary of folly, but none to accuse him of guilt; none to authorize those bitter reflections on the *saleableness* of the *consciences* of the *pretended* patriots of America, or on the *decrepitude* of the *government*.

This is not all. If the overtures for money were in behalf of Citizen Fauchet's flour-men, there remains a very important passage of his intercepted letter, which both he and the Vindicator have left unexplained. It is this. "*As soon as it was decided, that the French Republic purchased no men to do their duty, there were to be seen individuals, about whose conduct the government could at least form uneasy conjectures, giving themselves up with a scandalous ostentation to its views, and even seconding its declarations. The popular Societies soon emitted resolutions stamped with the same spirit, and who, although they may have been advised by love of order, might nevertheless have omitted, or uttered them with less solemnity. Then were seen coming from the very men whom we had been accustomed to regard as having little friendship for the system of the Treasurer, harangues without end, in order to give a new direction to the public mind. The militia, however, manifest some repugnance, particularly in Pennsylvania; at last, by excursions or harangues, incomplete requisitions are obtained. How much more interesting than the changeable men I have painted above, were those plain citizens,*" &c.

That Citizen Fauchet understood the money-overtures to be made on the part of these *changeable men*, is evident; for the passage here transcribed follows immediately after the paragraph in which those overtures are mentioned. And, the passage

itself is too unequivocal to be misunderstood. All this scandalous ostentation, he says, these second-hand declarations, and harangues without end, *in favour* of the government, took place, among these *changeable men*, as soon as it was known (and not before) that the French Republic purchased no men to do their duty. Now, then, let Mr. Randolph, or any one of these *changeable men*, twist this passage till it applies to his flour-merchants, if he can. What! did the flour-merchants give themselves up *to the views of the government* with a *scandalous ostentation*? What harangues did these poor devils ever make, I wonder, to disguise their past views, and give a new direction to the public mind? We all know that the democratic Societies, and the good Governor of Pennsylvania issued *declarations seconding* that of the government; but the flour-merchants never issued any, or, at least, that I know of. And yet the citizen tells us, that all these harangues and declarations took place as soon as it was decided, that the French Republic *purchased* no men to do their duty. How, then, in the name of all that is vile and corrupt, could the money-overtures be made in behalf of three or four flour-merchants?

But, I must not let these haranguers go off so. “*Then,*” says Citizen Fauchet, “were seen coming from the *very men* whom we had been accustomed to regard as having *little friendship for the system of the Treasurer*, harangues without end.” Who then, were the persons that Citizen Fauchet had been accustomed to regard as having little friendship for the system of the Treasurer? “Of all the governors,” says Citizen Fauchet, in the 16th paragraph, already quoted, “of all the governors whose duty it was to appear at the head of the requisitions, the governor of Pennsylvania alone enjoyed the name of Republican: *his opinion of*”

“*the*”

“ *the Secretary of the Treasury, and of his systems,*
 “ *was known to be unfavourable.*” In another part
 of the letter, when speaking about the behaviour
 of several of the general officers on the Western
 expedition, he says: “ the governor of Pennsylv-
 “ *nia, of whom it never would have been suspected,*
 “ *lived intimately and publicly with Hamilton.*”
 As to the fact, concerning the harangues without
 end, those of my readers, whose memories are not
 very faithful, have only to open the Philadelphia
 newspapers for the months of August and Septem-
 ber, 1794.—Let the reader, particularly if he be
 a Pennsylvanian, treasure up all these things in his
 mind.

I have but one more observation to add here,
 and that does not arise from any thing said in the
 Vindication, but from a paragraph, which appeared
 in Mr. Bache's gazette, of the 22d December,
 signed, *A. J. Dallas*, and which contained the fol-
 lowing words: “ The publication of Mr. Fauchet's
 “ intercepted letter, renders any remark unneces-
 “ sary on *my part*, or on the part of *the governor*,
 “ upon the villainous insinuations of the libeller
 [meaning Mr. Wilcocks, who had said that it was
 reported, that Citizen Fauchet's letter charged the
 governor of Pennsylvania, Mr. Randolph, and
Valerius (by which name Mr. Dallas looks upon
 himself as designated) of bribery and corruption],
 “ in relation to the contents of that letter; but *we*
 “ may expect to derive a *perfect triumph* on the
 “ occasion, from the candour of those, who have
 “ incautiously circulated injurious conjectures;
 “ and from the mortification of those who have,
 “ wilfully, fabricated iniquitous falsehoods.”

It seems, that this *A. J. Dallas* is the self-same
 “ Secretary of this State,” and that this governor is
 the same “ governor of Pennsylvania,” of whom
 Citizen Fauchet has made such honourable mention,
 and

and of whom we have been talking all this time : for my part, I do not know the men, nor either of them ; nor have I any ambition to know them ; but, if they can see any thing in Citizen Fauchets's intercepted letter, from which they "*expect to derive a perfect triumph*," I congratulate them on their penetration, with all my heart. Should they triumph, their triumph will be *perfect*, indeed ; for, conscious I am, that it will be attended with this singular and happy circumstance, that it will excite envy in no living soul *.

As I am pretty confident that no further remark is necessary with respect to the *persons* who were to receive the product of Mr. Randolph's overtures, I shall now speak to the second question ; for what purpose were they to receive it ?

I believe, few people have read the intercepted letter, without being fully convinced, that the mo-

* Citizen Franklin Bache, too, (willing to be in the fashion, I suppose), has thought proper to come forward with a voluntary Vindication. He tells the public that, "another means of intimidating him into silence, has been the circulation of false and scandalous insinuations against *his integrity*, of his having received French money, &c. To all such, he thus positively and explicitly gives *the lie*."—Fair and softly, good master *Surgo ut Prosim* : if you rise for our good, do not, for mercy's sake, flash our eyes out. If you have not touched French money, if they have wronged you out of your share, why, it is an agreeable surprise to us, and there is an end of the matter. But, let me tell you, that it was treating the good people of the United States a little cavalierly to give them the lie direct thus, and seems to be very incompatible with your interests, unless you had a sufficiency of *customers elsewhere*. You are not, it is true, *named* in Citizen Fauchet's intercepted letter, and of this lucky circumstance you were, I presume, acquainted before you gave the public the lie ; but, as President *pro tem.* of the Democratic Society of Pennsylvania, you certainly come in for a share of his sarcasm on those changeable men. No more boasting, then, master *Surgo* : for "the more you stir it . . ." you know the rest of the proverb.

ney,

ney, if obtained, was to be so employed as to enable the receivers openly to espouse the cause of the Western insurgents, and overturn the Federal government; or, at least, counteract its measures so far as to oblige those at the head of it, to abandon it to the direction of those corrupt and profligate men, who wished to prevent any accommodation's taking place with Great Britain, and to plunge their devoted country into a war on the side of France. The passage of the letter, where the overtures are mentioned, authorizes this conclusion; and, when we come to examine the other paragraphs, together with the extract from the dispatch, No. 6., and to compare the whole of Citizen Fauchet's account with the well known conduct of those who are clearly designated, as the persons in whose behalf the money-overtures were made, the evidence becomes irresistible.

To weaken this evidence, nothing has been advanced, that does not, if possible, add to its force, by showing to what more than miserable shifts and subterfuges the Vindicator has been driven. Nevertheless, as we profess to make observations on the Vindication, all that it contains, however false and absurd, claims some share of our attention; and, therefore, we must now take a view of what has been said concerning the application of the money to be obtained by the overtures of Mr. Randolph, beginning, as before, with the certificate of Citizen Fauchet.

After telling us, that he had frequently had conversations with Mr. Randolph about the insurrection, and that he himself suspected the English of fomenting and supporting it, he says: "I communicated my suspicions to Mr. Randolph. I had already communicated to him a Congress, which at this time, was holden at New-York. I had communicated to him my fears, that this Con-
gress

“ gress would have for its object, some manoeuvre
 “ against the Republic of France, and to render
 “ unpopular some *virtuous men*, who were at the
 “ head of affairs; to destroy the confidence which
 “ existed on one hand, between General Clinton
 “ (late governor of New-York) and his fellow-ci-
 “ tizens, and on the other, that which united Mr.
 “ Randolph to the President.” He then tells us the
 old story about the flour-merchants.

Now comes Mr. Randolph's turn. “ Our dis-
 “ course,” says he, “ *turned upon* the insurrection
 “ and upon the expected machinations of Mr.
 “ Hammond and others at New-York, against the
 “ French Republic, Governor Clinton, and myself.
 “ —Fresh as the intelligence was upon my mind,
 “ that the British were fomenting the insurrection,
 “ I was strongly inclined to believe, that Mr.
 “ Hammond's Congress, would not forego the op-
 “ portunity of furnishing, to the utmost of their
 “ abilities, employment to the United States, and
 “ of detaching their attention and power from the
 “ European war. I own, therefore, that I was ex-
 “ tremely desirous of learning what was passing at
 “ New-York. I certainly thought, that those men,
 “ who were on an intimate footing with Mr. Fau-
 “ chet, and had some access to British connec-
 “ tions, were the best fitted for obtaining this in-
 “ telligence.” And for this reason he recom-
 mended the flour-men*. Oh, master Randolph!
 master Randolph, Oh!

* To give the reader some faint idea of the volubility of these gentlemen when they got together, it will be sufficient to tell him, that all this plan for coming at the secret machinations of the English; that all the questions, and answers, and observations, and determinations, took them up but just “ *twenty minutes*,” according to both their accounts. They tell us this, because, if they had staid longer closeted together, we might have suspected some foul play; but they should have taken

Here, then, this worthy statesman was endeavouring to render a most important service to his country. His only object being to dive into the machinations, that the English minister and his Congress were hatching against the United States. A very laudable pursuit.—This story has something in it so flattering to human nature, that it is a pity it should be the most abominable falsehood that ever issued from the procreant brain of a petty-fogging politician.

In the first place, nobody sincerely believed, that the English had even the slightest correspondence or connection with the insurgents; nor did any body ever, from first to last, pretend to avow such a belief, that I know of, except Mr. Randolph and a certain Governor. These two gentlemen endeavoured to impress the idea of such a connection as well on the mind of the President as on that of the public; but neither of these yielded to the insidious suggestion. Both very naturally demanded proofs, and proofs were not to be found; unless the insurgents' howling out *liberty and equality*, their planting *liberty trees*, and their wearing *cockades à la tricolore*, were proofs of their attachment to the English. No one circumstance that has yet come to light is a stronger proof of a deep laid plot against the Federal government than the efforts of these men to give a false direction to the public mind. While they were making overtures to the French minister; while they were endeavouring to feed the insurrection from that source, they threw out, in order to disguise their views, insinuations that another nation was at the bottom of it.

taken care, then, to render their recital of what passed short; for I, for my part, cannot read what they say passed between them, in double the time.

And

And what was this pretended Congress of Mr. Hammond at New-York, that it should so alarm our Vindicator, and make his friend Fauchet fear, that something would be attempted by it to the prejudice of Mr. Randolph and the "*virtuous*" father-in-law of Citizen Genet? Who composed this Congress? Why, Mr. Hammond was the President, and his wife, a sick child, and a nurse, were the members! A pretty Congress this to form machinations against the government of the country, and to stir up a rebellion in a quarter four or five hundred miles distant! This Congress, too, was assembled at New-York, or rather on Long-Island, where I do not believe that citizen Fauchet had *three* or *four*, nor even *one*, flour contractors; and, if so, how came the wise Mr. Randolph to imagine that the contractors would have made a journey from Virginia, where the greatest part of them were, or even from this city, to New-York, in order to dive into Mrs. Hammond's and her maid's secrets? The fellows must necessarily have remained some time there to effect the object of their mission; they must have went skulking about *incognito* like other spies, and must of course, have run the risk of kickings and rib-roadings in abundance; and all this for what? why truly, for *nothing*! for it would have been nothing, if they were to receive no more than what was "*due them* on their contracts," and both our certificate-makers declare that they were not to have another farthing.

If the overtures had been for money to be employed in the procuring of intelligence of what the English minister was about, is it not natural to suppose, that Citizen Fauchet would have mentioned this circumstance in his very confidential letter? Yet we see, that he has not let fall a word about it, either in his letter or in his dispatch, No. 6. Again, what would his reflections on such overtures

tures have been? He would probably have exclaimed: *Thus with some thousands of dollars, the Republic could have dived into all the machinations of the English!* Instead of: “Thus with some thousands of dollars, the Republic could have *decided on civil war or on peace!* Thus the *consciences* of the *pretended patriots* of America have *already their prices!*”—And, let me repeat, what could induce him to talk, in his dispatch, No. 6., of throwing himself on the *pure* principles of his Republic, if nothing was in contemplation but the unravelling of the treacherous designs of the English?

But I do not rest upon this negative evidence to disprove all that the certificate-makers have attempted to impose on us, on this subject. Citizen Fauchet has let fall a sentence in his intercepted letter that proves, that he did not look upon the money-overtures as being made with an intention of coming at the secrets of the English; that he never thought the English at all concerned in fomenting the insurrection; that he was well persuaded that the insurgents never looked for support from them; and that he was fully convinced of the meanness and baseness of all those who attempted to propagate such an opinion. “But,” says he in the 15th paragraph of the letter, “But, in order *to obtain something on the public opinion, it was necessary to magnify the danger, to disfigure the views of those people (insurgents), to attribute to them the design of uniting themselves with England.*—This step succeeded, an army is raised, &c. &c.”* Here, then he unequivocally gives

* I cannot help, on this occasion, giving an extract from the first part of the *Bone to Gnaw for the Democrats*, which was written soon after Citizen Fauchet's intercepted letter.

‘ I must be excused also, if I do not give full credit to what the

the lie to every word that he has said on the subject in his certificate, and to every word that Mr. Randolph has been awkward enough to repeat after him. If he was so well informed that all these malicious tales about the interference of the English, were invented and propagated merely in order *to obtain something on the public opinion by magnifying the danger and disfiguring the views* of the insurgents, all which, it is clear, he learnt from the precious confessions of Mr. Randolph; if he was so thoroughly convinced of all this, at the time of writing his letter, in October, 1794, how comes he to recollect, in the month of August, 1795, that

‘ the Governor of Pennsylvania asserted on this subject, when he was haranguing the militia officers to persuade them to assemble their quotas, for the purpose of marching against the “ Western Brethren.” “ Listen,” said he, “ to the language of the *Insurgents*, and your spirit will rise with indignation. They not only assert that certain laws shall be repealed, let the sense of the majority be what it may, but they threaten us with the establishment of an independent government or a return to the allegiance of Great Britain.”

‘ Most people thought this was a *bolt shot*; but they forgot, that he said, in the same harangue, “ that, from defects in the militia system, or some other unfortunate cause, the attempts to obtain the quota of militia by regular drafts *had failed.*” If they had recollected, that, under such circumstances, the end of an harangue was to “ stir men’s bloods,” and not to be very nice in the statement of facts, they would not have been surprised, that our Solomon (I can have no intention to hint, that the wise Governor has ever had *three hundred concubines* at a time; human nature cannot stand that, now-a-days) they would not, I say, have been surprised that our Solomon should choose Great Britain as a spur.

‘ Reader, when you were a little boy, did you never carry on a *secret correspondence* with the pies and tarts; and, when by the rattling of the plates, or some other accident, you were like to be caught at it, did you never raise a bue and cry against the poor dogs and cats? Those who look upon the conduct of our Democrats as unnatural, forget their own little roguish tricks.’

both

both he and Mr. Randolph did “*really* suspect, that “ the English were fomenting the insurrection ?” No; they never suspected any such thing; and they, and all others who pretended to suspect it, have only discovered to what pitiful tricks, what political quackery, they were reduced.

One closing observation on this subject. If money had been wanted to obtain intelligence concerning the pretended Congress of Mr. Hammond; if this object was so near Mr. Randolph’s heart, as he hypocritically declares it was, whom ought he to have applied to? Whom would he naturally have applied to for the necessary sums? Whom but the President of the United States, under whose authority alone he could have acted in so delicate a conjuncture? He would have laid before him his suspicions of the dreadful Congress, and proposed to him the means the most likely of unveiling its machinations; and, if money had been necessary, it would, of course, have been granted. But, instead of this, away he runs to a foreign minister, and unbosoms himself to him, as if the secret was of too much importance to be deposited in the breast of the President, or as if the French had more interest in quelling the insurrection than the United States had. He appears to have looked upon Citizen Joseph Fauchet as his Father Confessor; and for that reason it was, I suppose, he reserved for his ear, like a pious and faithful penitent, those precious secrets that he had kept hidden from all the world besides. In the Council Chamber at Philadelphia he was troubled with a locked jaw; but the instant he entered the confessional on the banks of the Schuylkill, to which the Citizen seems to have retired on purpose, the complaint was removed, and he said more in “ twenty minutes,” than he will be able to unsay in twenty years.

To the side of a stream, in a deep lonely dell,
 Father *Joseph* retir'd, as a hermit to dwell,
 His hermitage, crown'd with a cap tricolor*,
 Brought a beggarly pilgrim his aid to implore.
 First the holy man promis'd, and, for his professions,
 The *penitent* made him most *precious confessions*.
 Now tell me, dear son, said the hermit, your needs:—
 Give me, good Father *Joseph*, a *string of gold beads*.—
 A string of gold beads, says the hermit, *Parbleu!*
 Your request, my dear son, appears dev'lish new,
 He told him, in short, he was damnably poor;
 Kick'd him out of his den, and slam'd to the door.

It is a great pity we are obliged to quit this delightful theme, to return to the dry mercenary overtures of Mr. Randolph.

As it appears that he cannot persuade us, that the money was to be employed for the purpose of coming at the machinations of the English, let us now see to what purpose it is much more likely it was to have been applied.

From the intercepted letter we learn, that the complying with the overtures would have enabled the French Republic to decide, for this country, *on civil war or on peace*; and, we are told, in the extract, No. 6, which has been intruded on us purposely to give a favourable turn to this passage of the letter, that the money, if obtained, would have put it in the power of *four men to save the country*. Mr. Randolph, in handling these two passages, has gone rather beyond his usual degree of assurance. He has taken a phrase from one and a phrase from the other, and tacked them together to suit himself. This done, he boldly asks, "What were to be the functions of these men?" And then comes out his triumphant answer—"To save the country from a civil war." This is Lord Peter again with his

* Citizen Fauchet's houses, both in town and country, were decorated with this symbol of orthodox republicanism.

totidem verbis. By running over the two papers, or either of them, this way; culling a phrase here and a phrase there, he may make them say any thing he pleases; and he may do the same thing with any other writing. In this manner he may make even the *New Year's Gift* say, that he is an upright, worthy, incorruptible man; and God knows how far that is from the sentiments of the author. Is this phrase, which he compounded of ingredients taken from two different places, to be found in any part of Citizen Fauchet's dispatches? Has this tattling Father Confessor any where said, that the overtures were for money *to save the country from a civil war*? Has he said any thing that will countenance such an inference? No; his dispatches, in every rational construction they will bear, clearly lead to a contrary conclusion.

He could have *decided on civil war or on peace.* If we are to understand by civil war, *a successful opposition to the Federal government*, the whole of his letter, from one end to the other, proves that nothing was so near his heart. He every where exclaims against the ambitious views of the government, and defends the cause of the insurgents. He speaks of them as an oppressed people, and of the laws which they were armed to oppose, as harsh and unnecessary. The anarchical assembly in the neighbourhood of Pittsburgh, those outrageous villains who insulted the officers of justice, plundered the mail, drove peaceable and orderly people from their dwellings, dragged others forth to endure every other cruelty short of death, and who in a word, were daily committing robbery and murder; this assembly of ruffians he calls, "*the very pacific*" union of the counties in Braddock's Field! a "union which could not justify the raising of so great a force as fifteen thousand men.—Besides," added he, "*the principles* uttered in the declara-

tions of these people, rather announced *ardent*
minds to be calmed, than anarchists to be subdued." When he comes to speak of those who wished to enforce the excise law, he gives way to the most bitter invectives, and almost curses the officers of government, who counselled the marching of the troops. But, at last, he is compelled to give an account of the triumph of the Federal army; and here we plainly perceive, by the chagrin he expresses at that event, what he would have desired. He laments that the government will acquire stability from it, "*for one complete session at least,*" the discredit it will throw on "*the insurgent principles*" of the patriots," and concludes with this, to him, melancholy reflection: "Who knows what will be the limits of *this triumph*? Perhaps advantage will be taken by it to obtain some laws for *strengthening the government*, and still more precipitating the propensity, already visible, that it has towards aristocracy!"

Who, then, can be stupid enough to believe, that if this man had had "some thousands of dollars" to advance, he would have advanced them to aid the government, either directly or indirectly, *against the insurgents*, and to *save the country* from a civil war? And yet this we must believe, before we believe, that Mr. Randolph, who was in all his secrets, would have made him overtures for that purpose.

As to the words in the dispatch, No. 6, which are allowed to signify, *save the country*, they must not be thus disjointed from what precedes them. The passage is this: "*Scarce was the commotion known*, when the Secretary of State came to my house. All his countenance was grief. He requested of me a *private conversation*. It is *all over*, said he to me. A civil war is about to *ravage our unhappy country*. *Four men*, by their
talents,

“ *talents, their influence, and their energy, may save it.*”—Save it from what? Not from a civil war; it was, it seems, too late to do that; for it was *all over*. A civil war was to take place; that was a settled point, though the *commotion was scarcely known*; but *four men*, with the help of Citizen Fauchet’s dollars, might save the country. That is, bring it out of that civil war, refined and regenerated, and unclogged with the Federal government, or, at least, with those men who thwarted the views of Citizen Fauchet and his nation.

Of all the expressions to be found in the Babylonish vocabulary of the French Revolution, there is not one, the value of which is so precisely fixed as that before us—to *save the country*. When their first Assembly, the fathers of all the miseries of their country, violating the powers with which they were invested, reduced their king to an automaton, laid their crooked fingers on the property of sixty or seventy thousand innocent persons, drove the faithful pastors from their flocks, and replaced them by a herd of vile apostates, they had the impudence to declare, that they had *saved their country*! When their worthy successors hurled this degraded monarch from his throne, and, after a series of injustices, insults and cruelties, as unmerited as unheard-of, put an end to his sufferings on a scaffold, they, too, had *saved their country*! They have saved it, alas! again and again! Every signal act of their folly and tyranny, every one of their massacres, has ended with a declaration of their having *saved their country*. Even when they exchanged the Christian Religion, the words of eternal life, for the impious and illiterate systems of a Paine and a Volney; when they declared the God of Heaven to be an impostor, and forbade his worship on pain of death; even then they pretended they had *saved their country*!—If Mr. Randolph meant to save his country in this way, he is welcome for me, to the

exclusive possession of the honour due to his zeal. He might surely venture to make overtures to Citizen Fauchet for operating a salvation of this kind, without the least fear of a rebuff. But, stopping short of French salvation, he might wish to save it from the *excise*; from the *Treasurer's plans of finance*; from a treaty with England; and, above all, from that "*strengthening the government, which had so visible a propensity to aristocracy.*" Besides, when a man comes to ask for a bribe, he must have some excuse; for, base as he may be, and lost to shame, and well as he may be convinced, that the person whom he addresses, is as base as himself; yet, there is something about the human form, though disfigured with a tricolor cockade, which reminds the wretch that he has a soul.

As a convincing proof that the overtures mentioned by Citizen Fauchet ought to be understood, as made to obtain money for supporting, in some way or other, the insurrection in the West, and that the whole letter inevitably conveys this meaning, we need no other proof than that furnished by Mr. Randolph himself. It will certainly be supposed, that he, above all others, would read this essay on bribery and corruption with an anxious and scrutinizing eye. We may fairly presume, that he conned it over with more attention than ever school-boy did his lesson, or monk his breviary; and that, from the moment he was in his penitential weeds, he repeated the some-thousand-dollar sentence as often as a devotee catholic repeats her *Ave-Maria*. Yet, notwithstanding all this; notwithstanding the interest he had in finding some other meaning for it; notwithstanding even his talent at warping, and twisting, and turning every thing that falls in his way, we find him, on the 19th of August, writing to the President thus: "For I here most solemnly deny, that any overture ever
" came

“ came from me, which was to produce money to
 “ me [and not to flour-merchants], or any others
 “ for me ; and that in any manner directly or in-
 “ directly, was a shilling ever received by me ; nor
 “ was it ever contemplated by me, that one shilling
 “ should be applied by Mr. Fauchet to any purpose,
 “ *relative to the insurrection.*”—He understood,
 then, the letter to mean, that money was to be re-
 ceived by him, and that it was to be applied to some
 purpose relative to the insurrection. This was the
 charge that he at first thought the letter contained
 against him. And when did he begin to think
 otherwise ?—After he had been to see Citizen Fau-
 chet at Rhode-Island, and not a moment before. It
 was after this edifying *tête-à-tête* with his old Fa-
 ther Joseph, that he began to recollect all about the
 flour-merchants and Mr. Hammond’s Congress ;
 and so, with his memory thus refreshed, he comes
 back, and tells us in his Vindication : “ Mr. Fau-
 chet’s letter, indeed, made me *suppose*, that No. 6,
 “ *possibly* alluded to some actual or proffered *loan*
 “ or expenditure, for the *nourishment* of the insur-
 “ rection ; and, therefore, I thought it necessary to
 “ deny, in my letter of the 19th of August, that one
 “ shilling was contemplated by me to be applied by
 “ Mr. Fauchet relative to the insurrection.”

Citizen Fauchet’s memory, too, was, it seems,
 furbished up by this *tête-à-tête* ; for he tells us, in
 his certificate, that, “ *now* calling to mind all the
 “ circumstances, to which the *questions of Mr. Ran-*
 “ *dolph* call my attention, I have an intimate con-
 “ viction that I was *mistaken in the propositions*,
 “ which I *supposed* to have been made to me.”—
 So here is a pretty story for you : Mr. Randolph
 forgets all about the flour-merchants, till he talks to
 Citizen Fauchet ; and Citizen Fauchet forgets all
 about them, till he talks to Mr. Randolph ! Their
 memories, like a flint and steel, could bring forth

no light but by friction with each other. If this do not prove a close connection, I do not know what does. Even "their minds," as the poet says, "in wedlock's bands were join'd."

There is another singularity worth notice here. Citizen Fauchet's intercepted letter was written on the 31st of October, 1794; and at that time (though it was just after the overtures were made), he did not recollect a word about the flour-men, nor about the machinations of the English: but, on the 27th of September, 1795, that is to say, ten months and twenty-seven days afterwards, he has an *intimate conviction* of the whole matter; and tells as good a tough story about it, as one can in conscience expect from a being that kneels down at the shrine of a jack-ass. Mr. Randolph, also, recollected nothing about it on the 19th of August; but, in some thirty days after, it all came as pat into his head, as if it had but that moment happened.—Rhode-Island must be like the cave of the Dervise, where every one that entered saw, written in large characters, all the actions of his past life. If so, no wonder our adventurers made such haste to quit it.

I cannot dismiss this subject, without begging the reader once more to call to mind the sarcasms that Citizen Fauchet pours out on the *changeable men*, who seconded the views of the government with the most scandalous ostentation, who uttered resolutions and harangues without end, and who made excursions to collect troops, "as soon as it was decided" that the French Republic purchased no men to "do their *duty*." Mr. Randolph lays hold of this word *duty*, too, as a drowning man would of a straw, and to just as much purpose; for if by this word Citizen Fauchet meant the *real* duty of these haranguers, they were here in the performance of it. Their duty, their allegiance to the United States, required them to speak forcibly to the people, to
second

second the declarations of the general government, and, if ordered, to make excursions to collect troops; and yet he tells us, or rather he tells the French government, that they did all this, “as soon as it was decided that the French Republic *“ purchased no men to do their duty.”* Hence it is a clear case, that what he conceived to be their duty, and what he would have paid them to perform, if he had had money, was exactly the contrary of all this; and exactly the contrary of this would have been an opposition to the general government, its probable defeat and consequent destruction.

After all, to fix the blackest guilt on the conspirators, it is not necessary to prove what their precise intentions were. It is sufficient that we have the clearest evidence, that in consideration of some thousands of dollars, they would have enabled a foreign nation to decide *on civil war or on peace* for this country. After having, then, satisfied ourselves with respect to *who they are*, this is the crime we have to lay to their charge. All their asseverations, all their windings and subterfuges are vain: they will never wash away the stain as long as words shall retain their meaning, and as long as virtue shall hold her seat in our hearts, and reason in our minds.

I have already trespassed on the reader's patience much longer than I intended, and, I fear longer than he will excuse; but, as I have promised to take some notice of the Vindicator's attempt at recrimination, I must be as good as my word.

He has exerted his labyrinthian faculties to the utmost, in order to make it be believed, that the President of the United States ratified the Treaty with Great Britain, under the influence of what he modestly terms, a British Faction. With this object in view, he says, as addressing himself to the President—“By my advice the United States would
“ have

“ have been masters of all contingencies at the end
“ of the campaign. To my unutterable astonish-
“ ment, I soon discovered that you were receding
“ from your *determination*. You had been reflect-
“ ing upon your course from the 26th of June to
“ the 16th of July; on the latter day you de-
“ cided on it; a communication was made to the
“ British minister in conformity with it; letters
“ were addressed to our own ministers in confor-
“ mity to it; they were inspected by you, before
“ you rescinded your purpose: no imperious cir-
“ cumstances had arisen, except the strength of the
“ popular voice, which would, according to ordi-
“ nary calculation, corroborate, not reverse your
“ former resolution; you assigned no new reasons
“ for the new measures; and you disregarded the
“ answer to Boston, although it had committed
“ you upon a special fact, namely, a determination
“ not to ratify during the existence of the provision-
“ order. While I was searching for the cause of
“ this singular revolution, and could not but re-
“ member that another opinion, which was always
“ weighty with you, had advised you not to ex-
“ change ratifications until the provision-order
“ should be abolished, or the American minister
“ should receive further instructions, if it were not
“ abolished; after duty had dictated to me an ac-
“ quiescence in your *varied sentiments*, and I had
“ prepared a memorial to Mr. Hammond adapted
“ to them; after you had signed the ratification on
“ the 18th of August; Mr. Fauchet's letter brought
“ forth a solution of the whole affair; thence it was
“ that *you were persuaded* to lay aside all *fear of a*
“ *check* from the *friends of France*; thence it was
“ that *myself and the French* cause were instantane-
“ ously abandoned.”

This appears to be the sum of Mr. Randolph's statement, the correctness of which is, at least, very doubtful;

doubtful ; but, not to tire the reader with a discussion of little importance as to the main point, and in which I might possibly err, I shall take it for granted, that all that he has said and insinuated here is strictly true ; and then his charge amounts to this : that the President, even after the decision of the Senate with respect to the Treaty was known, hesitated, from the 26th of June to the 13th of July, as to what course he should pursue in regard to the ratification ; that, on the day last mentioned, he came to a resolution not to ratify, until the order of His Britannic Majesty, for seizing provisions destined from this country to France, should be withdrawn ; and that, notwithstanding this resolution, he did afterwards ratify, leaving the order in force, and that he was induced to this change of conduct from the discovery made by Citizen Fauchet's intercepted letter.

Now, admitting all this to be so, it requires a greater degree of penetration than I am master of, to perceive how it proves the President to have ratified the Treaty under the influence of a British faction, or any faction at all.

It would seem, that the Vindicator imagines, that, when a man has once taken a resolution, he can never change it, without incurring the censure of acting under some undue influence. How far such a maxim is from being founded in truth, the experience of every day will prove. A voluntary resolution must ever be supposed to be formed upon existing circumstances ; and, of course, if any thing arises that totally alters those circumstances, it would be merely obstinacy to adhere to the resolution. If, for instance, a man determines on giving up a part of his income to a friend, and the next day finds that friend plotting against his life, must he, notwithstanding the discovery, put his determination in practice, or be subjected to the charge of acting
under

under some undue influence ? To maintain such a position appears to have been reserved for Mr. Randolph alone. The true question, therefore, is this : Was the discovery, made by Citizen Fauchet's intercepted letter, sufficient to justify the President's altering his resolution, or not ?

The only objection that it is pretended the President ever had to ratify the Treaty, as advised by the Senate, was, the existence of the order of the King of Great Britain for seizing provisions destined from this country to France ; because, he was given to understand, that ratifying while this order remained in force, might look like acknowledging the legality of the seizure, and might embroil the United States with the French Republic. That this was the suggestion of Mr. Randolph he now avows ; and he even owns, nay, boasts, that he never would have given his advice in favour of the ratification at all, if he had not remembered, “ that
 “ if the *people* were averse to the Treaty, it was the
 “ constitutional right of the House of Representa-
 “ tives to *refuse*, upon original grounds, *unfettered*
 “ by the Senate and President, to pass the laws ne-
 “ cessary for its execution.” He has been tempted to make this avowal in order to ingratiate himself with the opposition ; and the need they have of a man, able and willing to expose every secret of the Executive, may, perhaps, insure him a momentary success ; but the avowal furnishes, at the same time, an irresistible proof of his double dealing. We plainly perceive from this, as well as from all the documents he has brought forward on the subject, that he was the great, if not the only cause, of the delaying of the ratification. First he starts objections ; then proposes conferences between himself and the English minister ; then he drafts memorials ; in short, he was taking his measures for undoing all that had been done, or, as Mr. Pickering
 well

well termed it, for “ throwing the whole up in the “ wind.”

The situation of the President was, at this time, truly critical. On the one hand, he saw an instrument ready for his signature, which completed the long-desired object, an amicable termination of all differences with Great Britain; an object that twenty long years of war and disputation had not been able to accomplish: on the other hand, he was haunted with the feigned, but terrific forebodings of an artful Secretary of State, who lost no opportunity of representing the consummation of the act as a just cause of offence to France, the *faithful* ally of the United States, and the favourite of the people. At this embarrassing moment arrives the intercepted letter of Citizen Fauchet. The charm, that held him in suspense, is at once dissolved. Here he sees that the hypocrite in whom he had confided, who first awakened doubts in his mind, who had been the cause of all the procrastination, and who had hitherto withheld his hand; here he sees him at the head of a faction opposed to his government, unveiling all its most secret views to a foreign minister, and even making overtures for money, which, if acceded to, would have enabled that minister to decide on civil war or on peace for this country. Was it not natural to imagine, that he should now see the advice of this “ pretended patriot” as a lure to lead him into a snare, to render the Treaty abortive, and eventually plunge the United States into a war with Great Britain? And was it not, then, I ask, as natural, that he should turn from it with indignation and horror? “ Hence it was,” says the Vindicator, “ that *myself* and the *French cause* were “ instantaneously abandoned.” And, upon my soul, I think it was high time.

In this letter the President saw also, what it was he had to expect from the *friendship* of the regenerated

rated French. Here he finds a foreign minister writing a letter that breathes, from the first syllable of it to the last, the most treacherous hostility to the Federal government. He finds him caballing with some of the leading men in the state, reviling his administration ; representing him as the head of an aristocracy ; approving of an open rebellion ; regretting its want of success, and that he had not the means of nourishing it. And all this he sees addressed to the rulers of a nation professing the sincerest friendship for himself and the people of America. Was it possible that he should see any thing here to induce him to delay the ratification of an instrument, calculated to insure peace and uninterrupted prosperity to his country, merely for the sake of obtaining an advantage for that nation ? " Hence," says the Ex-Secretary, in his plaintive style, " hence it was that he was persuaded to lay " aside all *fear of a check* from the *friends of France*." And well he might ; for, what more had he to fear from them ? Open war with such people is as much preferable to their intrigues, as a drawn sword is preferable to a poisoned repast.

The Vindicator, pursuing his plan for opening to himself a welcome from the adverse (and might say perverse) party, insidiously brings forward the remonstrances against the Treaty as a reason that ought to have prevented its ratification. Few people, who consider how these remonstrances were obtained, ever looked upon them as a reason of any weight : but, whatever attention they might merit before the discovery made by the intercepted letter, they merited none at all afterwards ; for, there was, and there is, all the reason in the world to believe, that they *originated* from the same all-powerful cause as did the suggestions, difficulties, and delays of the Vindicator. He would fain persuade us, indeed, that no money-overtures ever passed between him

him and Citizen Fauchet, after the little affair of the flour-merchants; but the method he takes of doing this is rather calculated to produce admiration at his effrontery, than conviction of his repentance. Addressing himself to the President, he says—"Do you believe, Sir, that if money was pursued by the Secretary of State, he would have been rebuffed by an answer, which *implied no refusal*; and would not have renewed the proposition; which, however, Mr. Fauchet confesses, *he never heard of again?*"—I do not know what the President might believe of the Secretary of State; but one would imagine that even such a rebuff as the Vindicator met with would have prevented any man from returning to the charge; however, I shall not contradict him here, as he must understand these things better than I, or, perhaps, any other man living. I haste to the declaration he quotes from Citizen Fauchet's dispatch, No. 6. Yes, it is very true that the Citizen says in that dispatch—"I have never since heard of propositions of this nature." But when was this dispatch written?—Before the 31st of October, 1794, and, consequently, before the intercepted letter; and Mr. Randolph has the conscience to make this declaration apply to the month of November, 1795. This is another of those little twists for which our Vindicator is so renowned.

There was great plenty of time for the Citizen to receive a reinforcement from France, before the Treaty made its appearance on this side of the ocean; and the regret he expresses at his "*his want of pecuniary means*," when the first overtures were made to him, seems to be a tolerable good reason for presuming that he should strain every nerve to be able to give a more "*satisfactory answer*" another time, than that concerning "*the pure principles of his Republic*." I leave any one

to guess at the low ebb to which he must be reduced, when he was obliged to throw himself on the purity of the French nation, for want of a little of the ready to purchase the "*consciences* of the "*pretended* patriots of America," which were going off as cheap as neck-beef, or damaged goods at vendue ! What must be the mortification of this speculator in consciences, when he had not one single *dollar* to give "*those changeable men*," to prevent them from *baranguing* and issuing declarations to "*second the views of the government* !" Indeed, when the Citizen is upon this subject, he seems to be quite unmanned. His situation was like that of a prodigal, who, after having squandered his last *sou* on his bawds and parasites, sees himself deserted and despised by them.—“ And the popular societies “ too,” says he, giving way to all the anguish of his soul ; “ and the popular societies too, emitted “ resolutions stamped with the same spirit !” The poor Citizen’s grief at this ungrateful defection of his darling club, puts one in mind of the lamentation of King James, when he heard that his favourite daughter had quitted his palace to join the invader. “ God help me,” said he, “ I am deserted “ by my very children !”—This was not the case with Citizen Genet : his purse was ever full, and he had ever a troop of democrats at his heels. He made his court, like Jupiter of old, in a golden shower, and, like Jupiter, he succeeded. Then was the time for trade : then a patriot’s conscience was as good to him as a little estate ; he was not then obliged to hawk it about from door to door, like stinking fish or rotten peaches.

That Citizen Fauchet would press the necessity of a supply, there can be no reason to doubt, at least from any thing that he has said to the contrary ; for, it was the “ want of *power* and defect “ of *pecuniary means*,” that prevented him from
yielding

yielding to the overtures that were made him ; and not his want of inclination to nourish the insurrection in the West. “ I shall *draw myself off*,” says he, “ by some common-place remarks, and by “ throwing myself on the *pure principles of the Republic*.” He says this with a laugh, that very well indicates what he thought of that purity. But, we are not reduced to the necessity of forming an opinion on any thing that he says on this subject. We know what the pure principles of his Republic are. We have seen from a report, made in the Convention, that, at Genoa, these pure principles had made sure of a party, who engaged to open the gates of the city to the French army, and that this plan, after having cost some millions, failed of success. In Switzerland, the Convention declares they have spent more money in bribes, than would have maintained an army of a hundred thousand men in the field ; but, *point d'argent point de Suisse*, according to their own proverb. In Denmark, they expended such immense sums in consequence of their *pure principles*, to the wife of one, and the whore of another, and the lacquey of another, and all this under the pretence of purchasing corn, that the reporter declares, that those who eat the bread made of the corn coming from that country, might be said to swallow pure gold *. Consciences were high there ; and yet the expenditure in Denmark is estimated at no more than a thirtieth part of what

* Might not this circumstance give our certificate-makers the idea of flour-merchants? They knew that the thing had succeeded in Denmark, and though it was rather inconsistent for such a “ *true republican*” as Mr. Randolph to adopt the practices of monarchical countries, yet, in such a desperate case, the thing might pass, with a mental reservation ; and, at any rate, should it be a sin against the “ *pure principles*” he professed, as he was with his old Father Confessor, it was easy to obtain absolution.

was expended among the republics. It was at Geneva that the success of their *pure principles* was complete. Their minister at that place adhered to them so rigidly, that, in the space of a few months, that devoted city became a little Paris. The constitution was destroyed, the sans-culottes let loose upon the rich; confiscations, banishment, and death followed*.—After this, it is diverting to hear Citizen Fauchet solemnly declare [in his *certificate*, mind that], “that the *morals of his nation*, “and the *candour of his government*, severely forbid “the use of money in any circumstances, which “could not be *publicly avowed*.”—Consummate impudence! The *morals* of a nation that do not now so much as know the meaning of the word! The *morals* of a nation that, one day in the year, have *bemp* for their god!—And the *candour* of his government, too! A pretty sort of candour, truly, to profess the tenderest affection for the President and Congress, while they were preparing to blow

* The influence of the French money at Genoa was such, that when they appeared in its neighbourhood, the patriots planted liberty trees on every conspicuous part of the fortifications. On each of these trees was the following inscription: “*This tree will defend our ramparts better than we can*.”—Let the reader cast his eye on this scene of baseness: let him view this venal, cowardly race, hoisting the colours of a nation of whose treacherous designs they were convinced; kissing the hand that held the scourge over them; and, when he has contemplated this spectacle as long as contempt and indignation will permit him, then let him transfer that contempt and indignation to the cockade-men and civic-feasters of America.

This is a proper place to remark, that Citizen Genet was one of those employed in accomplishing the destruction of Geneva. This circumstance accounts for the following sentence of his letter of credence to the Congress: “The proofs of *zeal* “and *patriotism which he has hitherto given*, persuade us that he “will conduct himself in a manner to render *his person agree-* “*able*.”—He rendered *his person agreeable* to M . . . C . . . and to the Democratic Societies, but to nobody else, I believe.

them

them all up. While they were endeavouring to foster a nest of conspirators, who would have sent them all to the guillotine, like the magistrates of Geneva, or swung them up in the embraces of their elastic god : From the *morals* and *candour* of such people, God defend us !

When Citizen Fauchet informed the Convention of the great bargains that were offered him here, when they found at what a low rate "the consciences" of the *pretended* patrons of America" were selling off, it would be to contradict every maxim of trade, to suppose that the purity of their principles, and the morals of their nation, would prevent them from enabling him to make a purchase; and particularly at the important moment, when the Treaty with Great Britain was to be ratified or rejected. There was, indeed, one difficulty; and that was, the Treasury of the Convention was nearly as empty as Father Joseph's purse, or the pouch of his mendicant pilgrim. And, as to assignats, besides their being a tell-tale currency, they never would, as we have no guillotine in the country, have been convertible into food and raiment; so that, of course, they would have been as despicable and despised waste paper, as the *Aurora* of Philadelphia, the *Argus* of New-York, or *Chronicle* of Boston. This difficulty, however, formidable as it was, appeared as nothing in competition with the object in view. We may well suppose that their indefatigable financiers would make a last effort; would give the nation another squeeze, to come at the means of defeating the Treaty. They have a greater variety of imposts than Mr. Hamilton or even Mr. Pitt; and in a pressing occasion like the one before us, they had only to set the national razor at work for two or three days, upon the heads of the bankers and merchants, to collect the sum required: or, if these should be grown scarce, a drowning of four or five thousand

thousand women might bring them in ear-bobs and other trinkets * sufficient to stir up fifty town-meetings, and to cause two thirds of the Federal Senators to be roasted in effigy. I would by no means insinuate, that the citizens, *in general*, who were assembled on these occasions, participated in any donation whatever, foreign or domestic, for I have never heard of any thing of the kind ; except, indeed, at Philadelphia, where, after having hollowed like lusty fellows to "*damn the Treaty*," they were taken and regaled with grog and muddy porter, at a tavern belonging to Patriot *Plato* †. Donation, or "*loans*," of this sort, seldom extend further than the chairman, orators, and committee-men : the multitude, when their vociferations are finished, are

* It appears from a relation of the transactions at Nantz, that, in that city only, more than three thousand women were either drowned or shot, in the space of a few months; merely for the sake of their rings, &c. Their murderers, as is often the case, quarrelled, when they came to divide the booty, published accusations against each other, and so the world has been informed of the "*pure principles* of the Republic; the *morals* of " the nation !"

The American ladies will do well to be upon their guard with respect to French baubles ; for it is very probable that their lovely persons may bear about them ornaments, torn from the bleeding ears and fingers of those females, who were formerly beloved and respected like themselves.

† This little gentleman, whom the French ladies call the *garçon fendu*, is said to delight in mischief like a jack-daw. He has amassed a great deal of money together, God knows how, which he appears determined to employ in doing this country all the harm in his power. He fully justifies the maxim of the naturalists, who tell us, that the most impotent reptiles are ever the most malicious. We have, however, this consolation : there will be none of his breed to torment our children.

It seems to me rather inconsistent that this *Pope Joan* should be admitted into a masculine assembly like the Congress of the United States ; for, though I am far from approving of the indelicate scrutiny of the Roman Conclave, yet, I must confess, that, where there are such grounds for suspicion, I think a legislator should be obliged to produce some proofs, before he be
allowed

generally suffered to retire to their cabins, their minds inflated with the ideas of their sovereignty, but their bellies as gaunt as those of fasting wolves.

Let any one look at the conduct of the leaders in this opposition to the treaty, and believe, if he can, that they were not actuated by some powerful motive which they dared not openly to avow. They began to emit their anathemas against it, long before it was even laid before the Senate. Mr. Randolph protests, that he never divulged its contents to any one. How he came to imagine this unasked for declaration necessary in his Vindication, I know not; but this I know, that almost every article of it was attacked in the democratic papers, *immediately after it was received by the President*, and that too, with such a confidence of its being what it has since appeared to be, that it requires something more than the protestation of Mr. Randolph, to persuade me that it was not divulged before its appearance from Mr. Bache's press. I will go further, and say, that I am well convinced, that the *Letters of Franklin*, which were the first pieces that appeared on the

allowed to assist in making laws to govern fathers, mothers, and their progeny. Let him speechify in the boarding schools till he is hoarse, but not in a legislative assembly.

Sage *Plato* mounted on a three-legg'd stool,
 Harangu'd the misses of the boarding-school,
 In accents soft as any *eunuch's* song.
 Blithe *Phyllis* thought the speech confounded long.
 Two craving appetites her soul divide:
 She long'd for dinner, and for *Damon* sigh'd.
 With nose up-turn'd, she eyes the spouting *sage*;
 Each lisp'ing period but augments her rage.
 Oh! god of dinners, says th' impatient maid,
 And you, Oh! god of love, now lend your aid!
 From this vile spouter set your vot'ry free,
 Let her once more roast-duck and *Damon* see!
 But, if she's doom'd, for some unknown offence,
 To hear a frothy babbler, void of sense,
 Send her a *man*, ye gods! and take this *pigmy* hence.

} subject,

subject, and to which I more particularly allude here, were originally the work of a *Frenchman* *. Father Joseph, believe me, did not bury himself alive on the banks of Schuylkill purely and simply to have leisure to say his *Angelus* and tell his beads. His retirement was not so much the effect of piety as of politics.

And who has forgotten the diligence of the opposers, the moment the treaty was published? Did they give it time to circulate? Did they let it come before the people as public acts in general do, and leave them to form a fair and unprejudiced opinion on it? On the contrary, was not every spring put in motion to prepossess them; to fix in their minds a hatred to the measure, that truth would not be able to remove? How can we account for individuals quitting their homes, neglecting their business, and sacrificing, *to appearance*, their interests, to carry this instrument to the extremities of the Union, and there form combinations against it in order to intimidate the President from a ratification? How can we possibly account for the *French flag* being hoisted at the town-meetings as a signal of

* As a proof that this is not a new opinion with me, I here insert an extract from *Plain English*.

"Before I proceed any further, it is necessary to give you a brief history of the *Letters of Franklin*. Whoever reads these letters with the smallest attention, must perceive, that they are, *originally, a French production*. Every one of them ends with an address to the passions of the sovereign people. These declamatory parts betray their origin in a more striking manner than the rest of the performance. Here we see a close and servile imitation of the illiterate, new-fangled jargon of the French Convention; a heterogeneous mixture of insolence, servility, vaunting, and lamentation."

Such was my opinion of the *Letters of Franklin* in the month of July last; before Mr. Randolph's scandalous affair was ever talked or dreamt of, in this country, and consequently before I could suspect that the contents of the treaty had been divulged by him.

opposition

opposition to the treaty*? What can solve this mystery, unless it be Citizen Fauchet's intercepted letter?

We all remember the hue and cry that was raised by the adverse party, their alarm, when the old Father Confessor and his dispatches were like to be taken by the English ship, the *Africa*. They trembled, and not without reason. If his nine (I believe there were nine of them) *cartons* had fallen into the hands of the President, we should then, indeed, have seen real machinations unravelled. Then might we have examined the whole account, run over all the items of corruption, known the price current of consciences, and the exact value of every individual patriot. We should then have seen, perhaps, how much it cost the French Republic to have a stone hurled at the head of Mr. Hamilton: how much she pays for an essay from *Valerius*, an harangue from the *garçon fendu*, and a sentence of "damnation" from the President of the Democratic Society. Then, too, might we have discovered, what sum is necessary to make one judge quit his awful functions, to head a tumultuous populace, and another make a silly, vulgar, butcher-like proposal for "seizing Great Britain by the throat and strangling her." And then might we have seen, what could induce the versatile "*Pennsylvania Farmer*," to forget the meek, the humble, the peaceful principles of his society, utter a philippic of sublimated nonsense, breathing nothing but rancour and opposition, and accept of the burning of the Senators of the Delaware before his door, as a sacrifice to his patriotic zeal.

Unfortunately these *cartons* were not intercepted; but all the proceedings of the opposers were such, that, when explained by the intercepted letter, there

* See *Plain English*.

could remain little or no doubt with respect to their real views; and no one, except a willing dupe, could any longer hesitate to declare, with the Secretary of War, "that the struggle to defeat the "Treaty was the act of a *detestable and nefarious* "conspiracy."

Will any one believe, then, that the President, with this conviction on his mind, stood in need of British influence to determine on a ratification? What other determination could he possibly take? Was he, though he saw the pit open before his eyes, to plunge headlong into it? Was he, after having discovered the conspiracy, tamely to yield to its machinations, and assist in the ruin of his country? There was but one course for him to pursue to make the government respected, and blast all the hopes of the conspirators, and that was to ratify the Treaty. By this act he preserved to us the inestimable blessings of peace, gave stability to the Constitution, not only for *one*, but for many *sessions*, by a legal and manly exercise of the powers it has vested in him, convinced the French that the interests of the Union are not to be sacrificed to her vengeance and caprice, and showed to the whole world, that we wish to live in friendship with all nations, but that we are determined to be the slaves of none. And yet this act, Mr. Randolph would persuade us, was the work of a British faction!

Thus has the Vindicator failed in all his attempts. On the article of corruption, of which we before doubted, we now doubt no longer; and as to his indirect accusation against the President, it only serves to show that one who, with unblushing front, can ask a bribe, will never be ashamed to publish his ingratitude and apostacy.

END OF THE NEW YEAR'S GIFT, AND OF
THE SECOND VOLUME.

202 Main Library

®

U.C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES



C022714214

E302

-C7

1801

Cobb v.2

347

v.2

